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IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 16, NO. 1

NOV. 13-19, 1991

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An unholistic
health-food
chain

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A WINNING ISSUE

**Harris Wofford made national
health care the focus of his
Pennsylvania Senate campaign
—and won.**



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Why national health care is good medicine

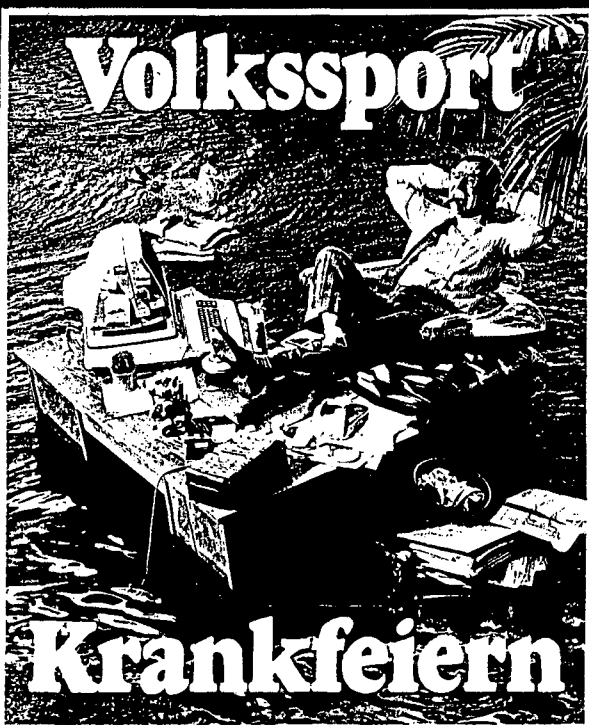
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**What other Democrats can learn
from Wofford's victory**

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Working hard or hardly working? Germany's new protestant ethic

DER SPIEGEL



Der Spiegel covers Germany's work-a-half-day world.

By Mike Shea

BONN, GERMANY

Ask an American who the world's hardest workers are and the most likely answer will be the Japanese and the Germans. The Japanese, maybe. The Germans, definitely not.

The idea of a diligent, hard-working German is a myth. It is a relic perpetuated by the history of post-World War II reconstruction when, under Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, Germans were forced to work hard to rebuild their country. Now, with comfortable times, the legendary Teutonic "work ethic" no longer exists.

Today's German worker, in fact, leads the world in taking time off. Germans spend fewer hours on the job than workers in any other major industrialized country, yet they are the world's highest paid. Last year, West Germans worked an average of only 1,506 hours, compared to 2,165 hours in Japan and nearly 1,850 hours in

the U.S.

TGIF: Try to reach a specific person by telephone on a Friday afternoon and the problem becomes apparent. Rarely is anyone, beyond the lowest echelons, available. They've all taken off early. Some companies make no bones about it. Auto dealerships refuse to schedule major maintenance on Fridays. Mechanics work only until 1 p.m.

Almost all German workers receive an extraordinary six weeks paid vacation. When combined with weekends and statutory holidays, suddenly the work year is shortened to less than 220 days. This year, most workers enjoyed 14 paid holidays. The total varies slightly by region, because under the federal German system, predominantly Catholic southern German states designate some religious-oriented holidays that are not given to workers in the mainly Protestant north.

This movable feast of pseudo-church holidays adds to the havoc of the work schedule. In Germany's most populous state, North-Rhine Westphalia, which includes the national capital of Bonn, there were four statutory holidays in the month of May alone. Two occurred on Thursdays; a fact that encouraged many workers to take Friday off, too. Another was on a Monday, the fourth on a Wednesday. Office and shop openings were erratic and mail was disrupted. One foreign journalist gave up trying to reach government officials, saying it was "impossible—nobody's there" and insisting that next year she would "schedule vacation time in May" to avoid the frustration of unanswered phones and empty offices.

But not even long vacations and short hours seem to be enough anymore. A recent survey by the employers federation found Germans to be among the world's "sickliest workers." The average employee is off ill more than 18 days per year. In contrast, U.S. workers take off sick only eight days per year.

The newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* highlights the problem in a recent cover story titled, "Time Off for Sickness, the People's Sport." It reports that more than a third of all days claimed for illness are fake. *Spiegel* quotes a spokesman for General Motors' European subsidiary Opel as saying the daily sickness rate at their German plants averages 10 percent while at plants in Spain it is only 3 percent. Another company reports its employee sickness rate has risen from 20 percent to 35 percent in the last 14 years. And *Spiegel* adds that at any given time almost one-fifth of Berlin bus drivers are said to be off "sick."

One survey of 295 companies, conducted by the German Economics Institute, shows absenteeism increasing around weekends. Perhaps not surprisingly, 37 percent of sick days occurred on Fridays, followed by "blue" Mondays at 30.8 percent. Only 6.4 percent of sick days were claimed by employees on Wednesdays.

In another study of workplace absenteeism, Eberhard Hämer of the University of Hannover estimates the cost to German industry of faked sick days at more than \$17 billion. He says in a report that faking sick days is now so acceptable that "those who don't do it are considered stupid."

Medical evidence of illness is required only after more than three days away from the job. And many doctors are quick to order employees to undergo traditional German health treatments at spas, most of which resemble vacation resorts more than health-care facilities. "Taking the cure," as it is known, is provided for under health-insurance policies and is an integral part of most labor contracts.

Generous maternity leave benefits are available and German labor laws even permit leave taking to care for sick relatives. Some employers now say this is too lenient and are demanding reforms.

Hard sell: Even with short working hours, many employees find it difficult to get their shopping done. Germany retains an unbelievably complex retailing system that makes it difficult to buy anything. German law requires shops and stores normally to close by 6:30 p.m. on weekdays. Weekend closure is at 2 p.m. Saturday, except for

the first Saturday of the month, known as *langer Samstag*, when stores are permitted to remain open "late"—until 6 p.m.

Sunday and evening shopping is forbidden except on Thursdays, when stores may remain open until 8:30. In suburban shops and in smaller cities this means stores also close on Wednesday afternoon to allow employees to make up for the extra hours spent working Saturdays or Thursday evenings. For many consumers, sneaking away from work or calling in sick is the only way they can find time to shop.

There are also signs that many German workers are becoming just plain lazy. Even when they are supposed to be working, many employees aren't. For office workers, lunch hours frequently stretch beyond the standard 2 p.m. A favorite scam for service and repair technicians is to take excessively long work breaks in isolated parking lots where there is little chance of being discovered by employers. Yet they assume the customer is always waiting for their unannounced arrival.

It's unclear what effect German unification will have on "new Germans'" work habits. The old Communist workers' cliché, "We pretend to work; they pretend to pay us," was true also in the old East Germany, where the economy

INSIDE STORY

was alleged to have been the most efficient in the East bloc. But when the Berlin Wall came down, it was discovered that the industrial infrastructure was so bad that workers had large amounts of unscheduled time off. If a factory ran out of a particular part at 2:00 in the afternoon, workers would just go home. And since unification, Bonn's attempts at slowing the surge in unemployment in eastern Germany hasn't helped instill a new work ethic either. More than 2 million workers there are on "short time," which means they are officially employed and drawing a portion of their pay but not working.

In praise of idleness: So what's going on with the world's highest-paid workers? Prosperity is the answer. After rebuilding a war-ravaged economy into an economic superpower, Germans have decided to enjoy life.

Surprisingly, today's general disinterest in work isn't reflected in economic growth statistics. When Germans do work, they work hard and their productivity is high. Last year, Germany's gross national product grew at 4.5 percent, trailing only that of Japan. And Germany replaced the U.S. as the world's leading exporter of merchandise.

Values have changed. Germans see no particular value in hard work. High income taxes and a strong social "safety net" discourage individual initiative. Germans are comfortable. That worries some older German leaders. Saxony's Premier Kurt Biedenkopf accuses Germans of being too satisfied with life. "We need new challenges," he says.

Most Germans seem to disagree. One study quotes a Frankfurt office worker as saying, "Anything more than a 35-hour work week would be just too much. I'm paid enough to live relatively comfortably. Why work like crazy during the week just to spend free time on the weekend recuperating?"

It's not the kind of attitude that sells in over-achieving America, but in Germany it's a reality.

Mike Shea is a broadcast reporter living in Bonn.

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(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1991 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 16, No. 1) published Nov. 13, 1991, for newsstand sales Nov. 13-19, 1991.

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By Larry Cohler

MADRID

WHEN ISRAELIS, JORDANIANS AND PALESTINIANS emerged from the first round of unprecedented direct talks expressing satisfaction and optimism about the chances for progress in their 42-year-old conflicts, observers were astonished.

But not Amos Kennan. Kennan, the senior Israeli polemicist for a Palestinian state, said he had known something like this would happen since before the historic Mideast Peace Conference began. As reporters waited anxiously for the latest developments, Kennan thought they were overlooking the real news of the conference.

"The important thing here is that Yitzhak Shamir has annointed Faisal Husseini as the Palestinian leader," said Kennan.

Shamir, Kennan noted, had approved Husseini's trip here from East Jerusalem, where he is generally understood to be chief representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) mainstream Fatah movement in the Occupied Territories. More tellingly, said Kennan, Shamir had allowed Husseini to meet directly with PLO leaders in Algiers shortly before the conference—even as Israeli peace activist Gabby Nathan went to jail a second time for similar meetings, which are proscribed by Israeli law.

Through exhausting pre-conference wrangling, Israel succeeded in barring Husseini from the actual conference table. But Israel and everyone else in Madrid understood he was the true head of the Palestinian delegation.

This was underlined when Secretary of State James Baker met with Hanan Ashrawi—another Palestinian barred from the table—for nearly two hours two days into the conference.

"I believe Shamir understands history," said Kennan hopefully, referring to his belief in the inevitability of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

Strange bedfellows: That optimistic conclusion might be one explanation for what was clearly Israel's unprecedented turn toward the Palestinians as negotiating partners by the end of the six-day conference. Even as talks between Syria and Israel plunged into mutual invective, the Palestinians' flexibility and unparalleled focus on the issues elicited responses from Israel that it had long said it would never take. Syria's continuing tough stance and Israel's unsurprising hard line toward it, meanwhile, laid bare for all to see that Arab unity under Syrian domination was not to be the theme of this conference.

In its groundbreaking bilateral meeting with the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, for example, Israel quickly agreed to deal with the two nations as individual units. This move—which followed a U.S. lead—effectively rendered the Jordanian and Palestinian teams as separate and equal delegations. From now on, they would negotiate with Israel independently.

This was a striking reversal in the Israeli position. The Shamir government, after all, had fought for months to subsume the Palestinians into the Jordanian delegations—a product of its view that Jordan already is a Palestinian state.

The long and winding road: Developments like this caused even some Arab del-

egates to see the conference as the beginning of a long and tortuous—but certain—end game. "This is the beginning of the end for Shamir," said a senior aide to the head of one Arab delegation. "He knows now he cannot get what he wants."

But another more cautionary explanation came from Uzi Landau, a member of the Israeli negotiating team and a Knesset member for Shamir's ruling Likud Party.

The 1979 Camp David treaty with Egypt, Landau recalled, "explicitly specified that the Palestinians will live in autonomy, and that the conditions of that autonomy will be negotiated."

As Landau put it, "We have always recognized there is a Palestinian problem that is legitimate. And we have tried since the '70s to solve the human-suffering parts of that problem."

Landau warned against "unrealistic expectations" sparked by the American insistence on treating the Palestinians separately and on dealing directly with Husseini—stipulations that Israel had little choice but to finally accept here. Israel still rejected territorial compromise, much less Palestinian statehood on the West Bank and Gaza, Landau assured a reporter.

A courageous move: Of course, if autonomy rather than eventual territorial compromise is all Israel has in mind, an eventual impasse in the peace process is certain. And that is what made the Palestinian decision to concede almost every procedural point to Israel one of gutsiest moves in the history of their nationalist struggle.

One of the riskiest Palestinian decisions was to accept a three-year autonomy period before concluding negotiations on their land's final status. But the Palestinians did not make such concessions without reason—even though they know Shamir has no desire to turn over the Occupied Territories. They realize that they will eventually reach an impasse with the Israelis—but they want it to be the impasse in which the United States is on their side. And it is on the final fate of the territories—and perhaps only on that—that the U.S. position leans toward the Arabs and against Israel. Thus reaching a stalemate on the ultimate disposition of the

territories is now, in effect, the Palestinians' prime strategic goal.

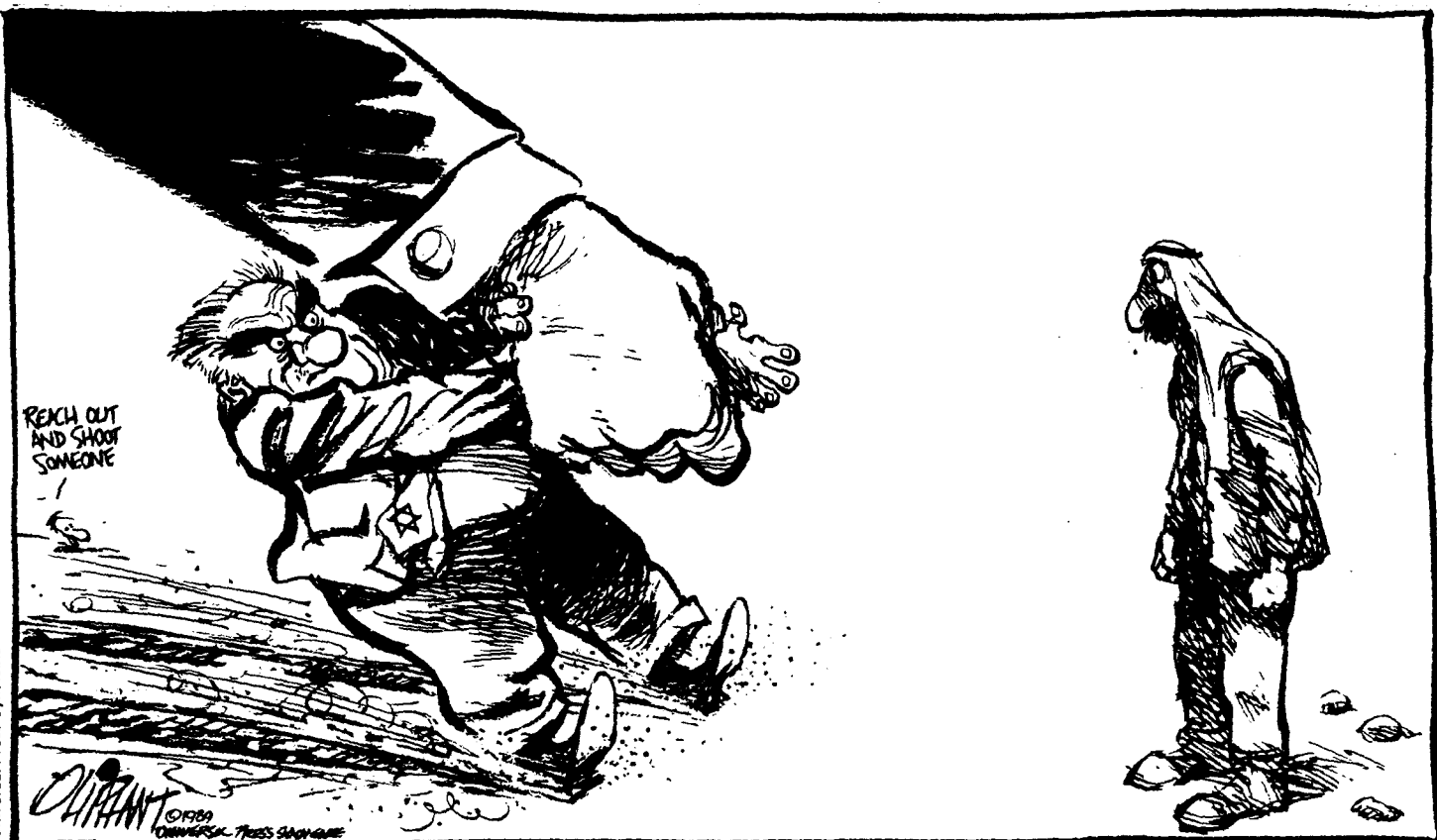
Having tried every other means of ending the occupation only to find themselves as bad off as ever in a new world order run by the United States, the Palestinians are determined to cut through all other issues to get to the ones in which Washington is mostly on their side.

For this reason it was important for them to hear President Bush's reassertion in his speech to the conference that the United States remains committed to "territorial compromise" as a basis for achieving peace—and Baker's assertion at a press conference that this means land for peace.

Uncle Sam unwanted: Israel has its own reasons for wanting the appearance of movement with at least one of their negotiating partners. And thanks to the Palestinians' willingness to accept a three-year transition period, they are the one negotiating partner with whom the Israelis could possibly get somewhere without having to give up land for peace at this stage.

Under peace-process ground rules, it is only in the event of an impasse that the United States, which favors land for peace, may be brought in as mediator, with the approval of all the parties. This is the last thing Israel wants. Its leaders know the seriousness of the U.S. land-for-peace position all too well after being rebuffed on a crucial \$10 billion loan guarantee because they refused a settlement freeze on the West Bank.

But this new Israeli-Palestinian cooperation is delicate because it is based on briefly converging interests. This cooperation is immediately threatened by Israel's refusal to freeze new settlements in the Occupied Territories. Without such a freeze, even progress on autonomy will be impossible, since Israel's current intense pace of settlement will gobble up much of the land that the Palestinians hope to win eventually. To avoid U.S. mediation, Israel again can be expected to make some move to fend off an impasse on this issue. Israel's desire for the U.S. loan guarantee—which comes up for consideration by the Bush administration again in February—will create added pressure on it to acquiesce in such a freeze.



'IT IS TIME,' SAID SECRETARY BAKER, 'FOR ISRAEL TO REACH OUT TO PALESTINIANS...'

Peace process makes fitful progress

Such a victory, if it comes, will be an important boost for the Palestinian negotiating team. It will demonstrate to the Palestinian bargainers' beleaguered constituency that their path of negotiation can bring returns.

The big loser: The flap between Israel and Syria over where the next bilateral meetings will take place will ultimately be resolved—if necessary, through a diktat from Baker. Israel is insisting on holding talks in the Mideast—a cause it may lose. But even such an outcome would not alter Syria's isolation in these talks.

This isolation emerged as the surprise development of the conference after weeks in which Syria sought to exercise influence over all the other Arab parties. But the vituperative hard line that Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Shara took at the conference exceeded even that of Shamir and eventually backfired.

As the one party under direct occupation, the Palestinians have the biggest stake in not being locked into Syria's position—a point the Palestinians themselves made publicly despite ritual references to Arab coordination. The Jordanians, too, made it clear that they would not be frozen by the Syrian stand.

Ironically, it was Israel's insistence on dealing only with Palestinians from the Occupied Territories that led to the emergence of a Palestinian team with the credibility to challenge the Syrian hard line. This same moderate, pragmatic Palestinian team may win concessions on the Occupied Territories by systematically stripping away each of the pretexts that Israel uses to avoid dealing with the issue.

All this leaves some Israeli leaders appearing nostalgic for their old intransigent Arab enemies, who never forced them to resolve basic issues. This became clear when Syrian Foreign Minister Shara was launching a personal attack on Prime Minister Shamir and Israel. According to an Israeli source close to the negotiating team, as Shara was delivering his diatribe the Israeli delegation was laughing. According to the source, Shamir said, "Ah, these are the Arabs we know." □

Larry Cohler is a senior writer for *Washington Jewish Week*.

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By Joel Bleifuss

Did he jump or was he pushed?

The naked corpse of Robert Maxwell was found last Tuesday floating in the seas off the Canary Islands. The question waiting for an answer is how the British media mogul, who had been holed up on board his 180-foot yacht, went overboard.

Did Maxwell take his own life? Initial reports from Spanish authorities suggest that Maxwell suffered a heart attack and died before he fell into the water. His family maintains the yacht's high railings would have prevented an accidental fall. They suspect foul play.

The owner of the *New York Daily News* and the *Daily Mirror* of London had spent the last five days of his life on board the *Lady Ghislaine* accompanied only by the ship's crew. According to the *Chicago Tribune's* R.C. Longworth, Maxwell's "usual entourage" of aides, editors, and personal photographer were notable by their absence.

Maxwell had reason to seek solitude. During the two weeks preceding his death he had watched his integrity as one of the world's most powerful newsmen begin to crumble.

Maxwell's reputation had been damaged by allegations raised in Seymour Hersh's book *The Samson Option*, an examination of Israel's nuclear arms program, that was released on October 21. In the book, Hersh charges that Nicholas Davies, foreign editor for Maxwell's *Daily Mirror* worked as a paid agent for Israel. Hersh further claims that Davies' boss Maxwell worked with Israel in September 1986 to discredit Mordecai Vanunu, an Israeli nuclear technician. Photos and information about Israel's top-secret nuclear arms program obtained from Vanunu were later published in the *Sunday Times* of London on Oct. 5, 1986.

According to Hersh, "Maxwell was known for his closeness to Israel's top leadership. He subsequently became an owner of *Maariv*, the Israeli daily newspaper, and also briefly was owner of the Cytex Corporation, an Israeli-based supplier of high-tech printing equipment, whose senior executives included Yair Shamir, a former air force colonel and the son of Yitzhak Shamir."

Hersh maintains that Maxwell, one week before the *Sunday Times* exposé, set out to orchestrate a disinformation campaign against Vanunu's allegations in his *Mirror* Group newspapers. Hersh describes in detail how the *Sunday Mirror's* top editors fudged their Sept. 28, 1986 Vanunu story at Maxwell's behest. *Mirror* editors also told Hersh how Maxwell ordered them to personally deliver Vanunu's information and photographs—which Vanunu sold to the *Sunday Mirror*—to the Israeli embassy in London.

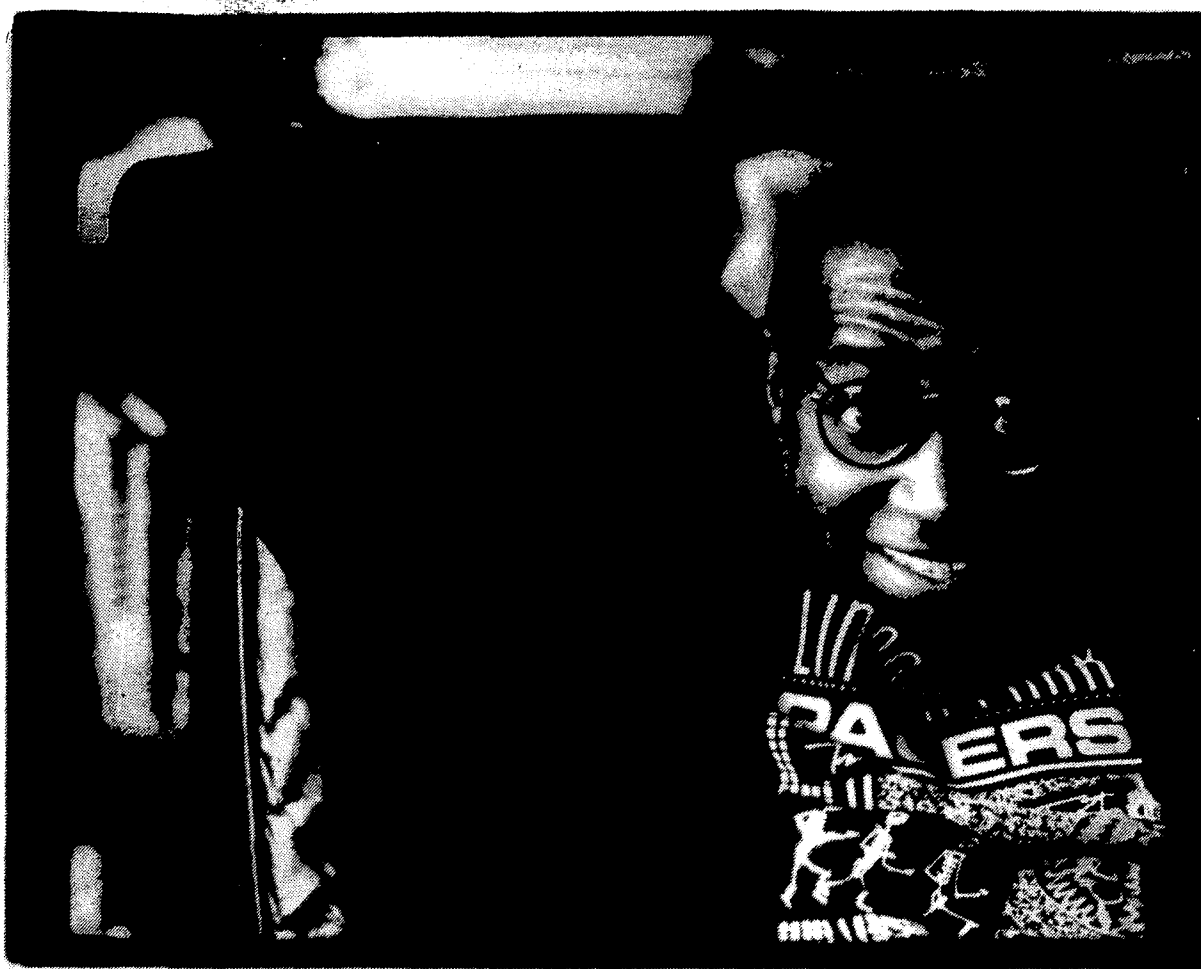
One of Hersh's main sources for this chapter of his book was Ari Ben-Menashe, the former Israeli intelligence agent who earlier this year went public with information about the October Surprise. It was Ben-Menashe, says Hersh, who worked with Davies to discredit Vanunu. Hersh goes on to report that foreign editor Davies, acting on instructions from Ben-Menashe, discovered where Vanunu was hiding out in London and reported that information back to Israel. Vanunu was consequently entrapped by Mossad agent Cindy Hanin Bentov on Sept. 30, 1986. She lured him to Rome, where he was drugged and taken back to Israel.

Deal of the decade: Hersh reports that "Ben-Menashe had been assigned in November 1980 to a small working group inside the Israeli intelligence community that dealt with Iran, then an international outcast—like Israel—that needed arms for its war against Iraq. Ben-Menashe's assignment was to find ways of getting around the arms embargo."

In an *In These Times* article published on April 17, Ben-Menashe discussed his role arranging shipments of arms to Iran. He claims that those shipments were the result of a deal negotiated between members of the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign and representatives of the Ayatollah Khomeini. In exchange for arms needed to fight its war with Iraq, Iran agreed to hold the 52 American hostages held in Teheran until after the 1980 presidential election.

Last month, as Hersh's allegations were breaking in England, I was in Houston, Texas, interviewing Ben-Menashe.

The day I arrived, the Maxwell story was front-page news in the British press. Two members of Parliament, one Labour the other Conservative, had called for a formal inquiry into the allegations raised in *The Samson Option*. In response, Maxwell and Davies went on the record denying any such involvement. Davies did tell the press that he knew Ben-Menashe, and that he had allowed him to use his home address as a mail drop for Ora Limited, an arms trading company Davies claimed was owned by Ben-Menashe. Davies denied being an arms dealer but admitted that the company operated out of his house from 1983 to 1989.

**Aaron Freeman: comic contraire**

By Zoe Zolbrod

"I am absolutely positively the most famous person ever to come from Pembroke, Ill. I am such a giant star there you can't even imagine," says political satirist Aaron Freeman. "When I catch a cold, it's on the front page of the *Pembroke Eagle*."

Pembroke is a suburb of Momence, which is itself a suburb of Kankakee, which is, says Freeman "in the super-boonies." At the age of six, Freeman moved from that tiny township to Chicago's West Side. At the age of 35, this multitasking personality has produced a body of work that the *Chicago Reader* calls "part of this city's political vocabulary."

Freeman was the first African-American essayist to be featured on *The MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour*. He created the definitive satire on the Chicago City Council under Mayor Harold Washington with his series of skits called *Council Wars*. His current revue, the critically acclaimed *Do the White Thing*, has been running in Chicago for two years. And his TV documentary *Do What You Love* picked up an Emmy this year for its musical theme.

Despite this success, Freeman is somewhat modest about his talent, if not his achievements. "I'm not the best writer. I'm not the best comic. I'm not the best nothing," he says. "But I'm a really good Aaron Freeman. Nobody can beat me at that one." Whether he's on television, on stage or sitting down talking to you, it's hard to take your eyes off the energy that is Aaron Freeman. He is a big man, a triathlete, with a powerful deep voice and huge golden-gray eyes. Freeman has presence.

Though he had a religious upbringing and was educated in Catholic schools, Freeman is now a born-again atheist. "I just don't buy that the god of Abraham—from whose nostril doth spring stars—cares about the skin on your dick," he says. "I also don't buy that women are worth less than men, that slavery is justifiable, all kinds of things." He does, however, "believe positively in the goddess," the spirit that he says helps all things grow. He also quotes extensively from the *Talmud*.

"Growing up on the West Side and going to Cath-

olic school, I didn't realize Jews existed. Then I went to NYU [New York University], and it was like, culture shock. Now I'm one of the more Jewish people I know." Freeman enrolled in NYU as a drama major after having acted in "one play and singing in the church choir."

He majored in acting but also pursued a minor in physics and still enjoys going to the occasional science lecture. He speaks with animation about the discovery of Helium 3, a substance found in large quantities on the moon that he says may someday supply a cheap, environmentally sound energy supply.

At NYU, Freeman broke the rule that prohibited performing off-campus. His role in an outside play, *Relatives*—which he calls a "stupendously horrible production"—led to his first big break. The writer of that play, Mayor Z. Ribalow, received a contract to produce four plays in London and he invited Freeman to go along.

"I think I was the only black person he knew," says Freeman. "This was back in the '70s when the Democrats were in office and you had to have a black person in your company."

So Freeman skipped the last two years of his college education to get paid doing what he loved, and in Europe no less. "Much to the chagrin of my mother," he says. "She believes that someday I'll go back and finish. I get a little intimidated sometimes [about not having a college degree], but there are very few people who would meet me and think I'm a really badly educated guy."

Second education: After returning from Europe, Freeman auditioned for Chicago's premier improvisational comedy troupe, Second City. He was accepted into the company for what would become an on-again, off-again relationship. Freeman calls himself "the patron saint of Second City rejects." He says, "I was fired twice and I quit twice. Second City, like any big institution, gets set in their ways and there are certain roles they get used to having."

"The company went for quite a while without a black person being involved at all," says Freeman. "Certainly, when I was first there the racial discrimination was just unbelievable. For a long time



Ben Dill

ey did nothing to alleviate this. They've gotten better." But, the comic hastens to add, "The people of Second City are my absolute best friends in the world. Everything I learned about comedy I learned from Second City."

He learned the craft well enough to beat the company at its own game, a fact that gives him a sense of satisfaction. "The first time I got fired for not being funny was right before I came up with the *Council Wars* skits. And then Second City did a piece called *Pirates of Penzance* which also was a spoof on City Council. In the review of that show the *Reader* said, and I quote, 'Pirates has a few good licks, but nothing Aaron Freeman hasn't done more cleverly and efficiently in his *Council Wars*.' Sssss!"

Council Wars was created during Washington's turbulent first term, and uses the *Star Wars* paradigm to satirize the split in the City Council between Washington's progressive and minority supporters and the opposition white-ethnic machine led by Alderman Edward Vrdolyak.

In the skit, young Harold Skytalker is convinced by Jesse Jack Solo to run for mayor. He wins, only to meet the evil Lord Vrdolyak in mortal conflict on the council floor. But Vrdolyak wins the first crucial battle.

"You may have prevailed at this juncture, Lord Vrdolyak, but I will assiduously pursue your disestablishment," cries Skytalker. "Perhaps, Mayor," returns Vrdolyak. "But to do so, you must use the dark Side of the Clout. You must make deals and compromises. Yes, Mayor, to defeat me, you must come me!"

It's the thing: Getting fired from Second City brings Freeman luck. The second time it happened—again for not being funny enough—he came back and co-wrote and co-starred in his current play, *Do the White Thing*, which, he proudly says "has run four times as long as any Second City piece ever." In *Do the White Thing*, big, black, basically liberal Freeman teams up with wirey, white libertarian-banker-type Rob Kolson for a musical piece about "politicians and the people who own them." The pair do skits on the Middle East, the savings and loan debacle and the national debt while leaving plenty of time for improvisations on whatever is in the news on that particular day. Although the show is based on political events, it is not necessarily geared toward a politi-

cally savvy audience. "We definitely get the Saturday night suburbanites," he says. "Although for anyone looking for the political stuff, that's there too."

Freeman points to one of the skits in the show, "West Bank Story," to prove the play's multifaceted appeal. The skit features a romance between a Palestinian and an Israeli, and parodies songs from *West Side Story*. "There's a State for Us" is sung to the tune of "There's a Place for Us," and "Militia" to the melody of "Maria." "More than half the audience laughs at the skit just as a spoof on a popular musical. But the politics of it are almost all correct, and some people are laughing at it because it's a political piece about the situation in the Middle East."

"With the kind of audiences we get, it would be a lot easier to get laughs from bitch and fag jokes," says Freeman, "but we don't. We try to have a certain amount of integrity and express a reasonable degree of compassion and empathy."

Freeman believes that part of a comic's job is to make the audience feel good about the world during the time they are in the theater. He doesn't like David Letterman's brand of humor because he finds it "mean-spirited and cynical. I don't find cynicism insightful," he says.

Freeman appeals to the mainstream to ensure the show's commercial success, but he also strives to inform and enlighten his audience. "I like shopping for real estate without having to worry about how to pay for it," he explains, "but I also like to stretch the audience and to challenge them. Holly Near said such a wonderful thing. She said that art can inspire and challenge and change and educate and you just have to own up to that. 'Cause you are making a statement no matter what you do. If you're just making dick jokes, you're making a statement that that's what you think is important and you don't think the rest of the stuff is important."

Talking Freeman: Freeman is also working on a weekly public affairs TV show, *Talking with Aaron Freeman*. Guests from opposite sides of current political issues meet to debate every Sunday night on Chicago's Channel 50. Freeman, an informed and adept host, asks probing questions and—without trivializing the subject—adds a touch of humor. Each show ends with a monologue during which he breaks free from talk show blandness and forcefully expresses his opinion on that week's discussion.

The talk show format works well for a man of strong opinions who says he "believes in knowing both sides of every issue and loves the debate." Freeman does not shy away from listening to and even befriending his ideological enemies. Although he believes libertarianism leads to "truly evil things," he subscribes to *Reason* magazine, a periodical whose motto is "free minds, free markets." He also regularly attends parties at the South African Consulate, where he has several close friends.

Freeman has called himself a "social capitalist," but he wears a different label now. "I'm a contrarian. I'll disagree with anybody. If this were a utopia, I'd be against it."

Do the White Thing co-star Kolson attests to this personality trait. "Aaron will disagree with anything," he says, "It's like working with Coyote if you're Roadrunner. It's like working with Skipper if you're Gilligan. It's like working with Woody Allen if you're his mother."

When *Do the White Thing* stops drawing crowds, Freeman plans to focus his attention on the creation of a feature-length film, *The Funny Bone of the Beast*. The film will follow the comedian across South Africa, documenting his attempts at making white South Africans laugh at themselves.

"I definitely do think that comedy is a subversive force," he says. "If you can get 'em to laugh at something, it means they're halfway there." □

According to Ben-Menashe, Ora Limited was an arms trading company that Davies and he operated with Ben-Menashe's former wife Ora, who he says was also an Israeli agent.

Ben-Menashe's story is corroborated by Davies' former wife Janet Fielding, a British actress familiar to American fans of *Dr. Who*. According to Hersh, Fielding told him "that she knew that Davies was selling arms in partnership with Ben-Menashe at the same time he was serving as foreign editor of the *Daily Mirror*."

Ben-Menashe has a stack of documents relating to Ora Limited that support his claim that Davies and he were dealing arms. In Houston, Ben-Menashe showed me a copy of a February 25, 1987 telex to Iran's minister of defense. It reads: "Attn. his Excellency Minister of Defense. 1. The details of the Representative of ORA Group which will have the authority to sign contracts in Iran are as follows: Family Name: Davies. First Name: Nicholas. Middle Initials: AFB. Citizenship: British. Place of Birth: Birmingham, England. Date of birth: 14 March."

Ben-Menashe told me that part of his work supplying arms to Iran involved arranging a series of weapons deals between Iran and the countries of Poland, North Korea, Vietnam and Bulgaria. Ben-Menashe says Maxwell, as a favor to Israel, "opened the door" for Israeli-brokered arms deals between the East bloc countries and Iran by getting Soviet permission for such deals.

At the time the Soviet Union was backing Iran in the war, Ben-Menashe says that the Israelis approached Maxwell in 1983 to arrange an understanding between Israel and the Soviet Union. "Politically speaking, Maxwell thought it was the right thing to do," says Ben-Menashe. "At the time Israel was completely dependent on the U.S." As Hersh reports in *The Samson Option*, when the U.S. began tilting toward Iraq in 1982, Israel began secretly strengthening its ties to the Soviet Union—to the point of providing the USSR in 1984 with intelligence data it had acquired from U.S. Navy intelligence officer and Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard.

Caught on camera: Throughout my two interviews with Ben-Menashe, the phone was ringing constantly. At one point a call came from Ben Kaufman, an Ohio arms dealer. As Ben-Menashe related the conversation, Kaufman was calling to say that a reporter from the *Daily Mail* of London was with him asking him about Nick Davies. Kaufman, apparently thinking Ben-Menashe was still working for Israel, asked permission to talk about his dealings with Davies. Ben-Menashe said it was fine to talk, so Kaufman did. He even provided the reporter with a photo of Davies visiting him in May 1985 at his Ohio home. The photo was printed the next day in the *Daily Mail*.

Davies, who had denied traveling to the U.S. in 1985 or ever setting foot in Ohio, was caught in a lie. He later recalled that indeed he did remember meeting Kaufman in Ohio while on holiday in the States. On October 28, Maxwell fired him for lying.

Ben-Menashe explains that revenge was his motive for exposing Davies and Maxwell's involvement with Israel. In 1989, Ben-Menashe was arrested in the U.S. for illegally attempting to sell Israeli-owned, U.S.-made transport planes to Iran. After his arrest, Ben-Menashe says he had been counting on Davies to substantiate his claim that he was working with Israel. Davies remained silent and, according to Ben-Menashe, Maxwell hired a lawyer to prevent Davies from being deposed. Despite Davies' failure to testify, Ben-Menashe was found not guilty by a New York jury in the fall of 1990.

Its time will come

The sad election news from Cincinnati is that the ballot measure to reinstate proportional representation (PR) lost 55 to 45 percent. PR fell victim to the politics of race, losing because support for the initiative dropped off in Cincinnati's African-American community. In a similar referendum in 1988 blacks had provided PR with strong support. Of the five leading black candidates for the city council race this year, only one supported PR. Further, this year, the Black Ministers Conference came out against PR, after having supported it in 1988.

The change of heart in Cincinnati's African-American leadership is due to their support for a district-based system for choosing council members, who are currently elected at large. A district system would guarantee a set number of safe black seats on the city council. But support for such a system, also plays right into the hands of the Republican Party, which through its support of race-based voting ghettos, has implemented a nationwide divide and conquer strategy.

Tacit support for such racial gerrymandering came from Jesse Jackson who showed up in Cincinnati the day before the election. An African-American businessman, who is anti-PR, had invited Jackson to town to encourage voters to increase the school tax levy. It passed, thanks in part to Jackson's efforts to get out the vote for education. But Jackson didn't say one word about PR.

A bad weekend for Agran

If a presidential contender can't get any respect from officials in his own party, where can he get it? That's what New Hampshire's Larry Agran wants to know after party officials in New Hampshire treated him like an unwelcome guest at last month's mid-term state convention. Agran and his campaign aides were upset because party officials pulled the plug on the candidate's microphone as he wound up an address to delegates and observers on the second night of the convention. New Hampshire Democratic Chairman Chris Spiro says he cut Agran off because his speech had gone well over the 5 minutes allotted for each of the "second tier" candidates—a distinction that left the Agran staff smarting. True, the former mayor of Irvine, Calif., was nearing the eight-minute mark when officials cut the power. But come on, couldn't the party have found a kinder, gentler way to hustle Agran off the stage? Not according to Spiro. "They were informed very clearly—on more than one occasion—that they had five minutes, and that on the sixth minute music would come on, and on the seventh minute the microphone would be disconnected," the party chair said, adding that Agran is lucky they let him talk as long as they did. Agran's aides disagree. They also disagree with Spiro's way of defining the party's first-string contenders—who were allotted 20 minutes of speaking time at the convention and were invited to participate in a televised debate. According to Spiro, the party's serious candidates are those who have held state-wide office. "That's just bunk," said Peggy Mears, Agran's director of outreach. "What do you think they would do if Jesse Jackson would have come?" And, added Agran press liaison Mike Kaspar, "If that's the criteria for leadership, then [Polish President] Lech Walesa should have stayed an electrician and [Czechoslovak President Vaclav] Havel should have stayed a playwright." Mears said she believes it all came down to money. When Agran's campaign team was finalizing plans to attend the convention, Mears said, New Hampshire party officials asked them to shell out \$3,000 for convention seats and another \$10,000 for state voter files. But because Agran is refusing all political action committee money and is relying only on small donations, the campaign was forced to decline. Mears said she believes that is when party officials relegated Agran to the second string. "The party's executive director said flat out to me that these people [the first string candidates] have made this event possible," Mears said. "And that suggests to me that their 20 minutes had been purchased." Kaspar said Agran's campaigners want to "stink up the joint" because of what happened to their candidate in New Hampshire. But Spiro doesn't want any of that smell near him. "I'm not a candidate for president against Mr. Agran," Spiro said, suggesting that Agran focus his debates on his actual opponents in the race for the Democratic nomination. But Agran's staff worries that some of their opponents are party officials who won't acknowledge a candidate unless he has a lot of money. "If we can't get a fair bang from within our own party," Kaspar asked, "what message does that send?"

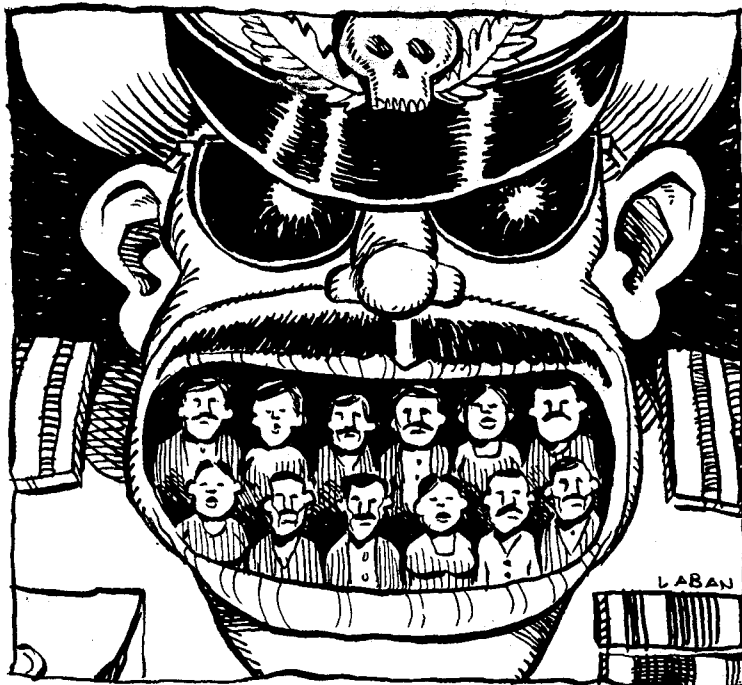
Tikkun on tour

Michael Lerner, editor of the Berkeley-based magazine *Tikkun*, will be heading from the West Coast to the left Coast (of Lake Michigan) for a November 17 "mini-conference" organized by the magazine's Chicago-area readers. *Tikkun*, currently celebrating its fifth anniversary, is now the largest independent Jewish magazine in the U.S. It's gotten there by offering an unorthodox—and at times uniquely Orthodox—"Jewish critique of Politics, Culture and Society." The conference will continue in that tradition by dealing "frankly and freely" with various controversial issues, including Israeli settlement in the Occupied Territories, the Mideast peace conference and progressive politics in the U.S. The conference will be held at the Jewish Reconstruction Congregation on 803 Dodge Avenue in Evanston, Ill. To register send a check or Visa/Mastercard information to *Tikkun*, c/o Tony Frank, 1208 Florence Ave., Evanston, IL 60202. Enclose \$20 if your income is under \$12,000/year, \$35 if less than \$25,000, \$45 if less than \$50,000, and \$65 if \$50,000 or above.

Yes to national health care

New Jersey voters have a healthy attitude. Seventy-eight percent of them voted last week to urge enactment of a national health care program. New Jersey's Bergen County Labor Council, AFL-CIO, joined forces with other local unions and labor councils as well as the Gray Panthers, the Jersey City Seniors and the New Jersey National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—among other groups—to get the issue on the ballot and to educate the voters.

INSHORT



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Patience on trial in El Salvador

Salvadoran juries returned three controversial verdicts this fall, generating concern that trials of human rights abusers from the army could end up revalidating the military's license to kill.

On September 28, a five-member jury acquitted most of the defendants in the Jesuit murder case, in which six priests, their housekeeper and her daughter were slain execution-style in November 1989.

While Col. Guillermo Benavides was convicted of murder for ordering the priests' slaying and Lt. Rene Yussly Mendoza was found guilty of killing the housekeeper's 15-year-old daughter, Celina Ramos, the jury acquitted the seven other members of the Atlacatl Battalion.

The verdicts triggered reactions in both directions in El Salvador. Rafael Moran of the National Conciliation Party (PCN) called the mixed judgment "unfair." Center-left politician Ruben Zamora complained that the court "isn't telling us where impunity should be corrected, where the armed forces should be purged."

Not surprisingly, Col. Francisco Helena Fuentes, commander of the San Salvador-based 1st Infantry Brigade and himself implicated in human rights violations, expressed unhappiness over seeing Benavides, "a comrade-in-arms, in jail." But he added that the verdict would not affect the military's conduct. "We are convinced of our mission," he said.

Eleven days later, another jury absolved 13 civil defense members who allegedly slaughtered between 20 and 24 peasants in the town of Armenia in western El Salvador in 1981 and dumped the bodies in a well. Only seven defendants in the case, known as the "Macabre Well Massacre," faced a judge. The others were never caught.

If acquittals in the above cases raised eyebrows, many Salvadorans were similarly dismayed by the October 11 conviction of civilian Jorge Alberto Miranda for the 1987 slaying of Salvadoran Human Rights Commission President Herbert Anaya Sanabria. The commission Anaya headed insists that Miranda is a scapegoat being used to shield the real killers in the National Police.

The evidence against Miranda was weak—based on a confession extracted during an incommunicado police interrogation. In the other two cases, physical evidence and eyewitness testimony backed up the confessions.

In a homily from San Salvador's Metropolitan Cathedral, Catholic Vicar General Ricardo Urioste contrasted the verdicts in the Macabre Well and Anaya cases and noted sadly that a "pro-military" mentality still permeates El Salvador. Miranda was the only defendant in the three cases without army connections.

With respect to the Jesuit murder case, another church leader, Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez, called the verdict both logical and illogical, explaining that while it emphasized punishing those in command, "it set free people who were clearly involved in commission of the act." He noted that it wasn't just eight defendants who were on trial but "a system, a way of doing things, a mentality."

Almost all non-governmental observers agree that the order to kill the country's top intellectuals had to come from higher than Benavides. To date, no serious inquiry has been made into the possible involvement of senior officers.

In Washington, Rep. Joe Moakley (D-MA) objected to the Jesuit case judgment, demanding investigation of a rumor that one defendant threatened to tell what he knew about high-ranking involvement if convicted. The soldier was acquitted.

Moakley, who heads a congress-

sional task force monitoring the case, noted that, while Benavides' conviction was a breakthrough—being the first ever against a Salvadoran officer—El Salvador's military clearly understood that a not guilty verdict for the colonel would have meant an immediate end to U.S. military aid.

He marveled that the jury convicted Mendoza for the killing of Celina Ramos while freeing the man who said he shot the girl and her mother in the head. Moakley theorized that the army cowed the jury into its decision in favor of most of the defendants. Salvadoran center-left politician Ruben Zamora also speculated that the three women and two men on the jury were "kind of negotiating their survival."

Salvadoran juries are not required to offer reasons for their decisions, but clearly their impartiality and incorruptibility are not assumed.

On the last and decisive day of the Jesuit murder trial, a group of army wives rallied outside the courthouse, bellowing pro-Benavides slogans through bullhorns and waving flags. One placard read: "When the next communist offensive comes, who will defend the country?"

Felix Ulloa of El Salvador's Legal Studies Center recommends halting trials of high-profile cases before more controversial verdicts are returned. He said the questionable rulings could muddy the work of the Truth Commission, a board set up through peace negotiations that will investigate the notorious human rights crimes committed between 1980 and this past July.

In the Jesuit murder case, intimidation was just one form of army interference. Lt. Col. Carlos Camilo Hernandez faces a misdemeanor charge of evidence destruction for ordering the burning of the Military Academy's entry exit log for the night the Atlacatl Battalion soldiers supposedly departed the school for their murder mission at the University of Central America.

The Jesuit order's provincial, Jose Maria Tojeira, alleges an army-wide conspiracy to obstruct justice. He notes, ironically, that on the night of the massacre, all the soldiers at the military academy "went to bed early and got up late," hearing and seeing nothing in the midst of a military emergency brought on by the guerrillas' battering offensive on the capital.

Divining the improbability of seeing full justice done for their slain brethren, the Jesuits have sued for damage done to university property on the night of the murder, compensation to the victims' relatives and 12 and one-half cents for each of the slain priests. Tojeira explains that, while the sum in no way reflects the value of the murder victims, extracting that 75 cents from the government would amount to an admission of guilt.

—Marcella Tardy

By John Canham-Clyne

WASHINGTON

ANYONE WONDERING HOW THE U.S. GOT INTO its current fiscal and political mess should read the record from the confirmation hearings of newly-installed Director of Central Intelligence Robert Gates. The hearings before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence sketched the broad outlines of Reagan-Bush foreign policy, while the full Senate's November 5 vote to confirm Gates replayed those politics in microcosm.

Over the last dozen years, the U.S. intelli-

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gence community provided a rationale in the form of a Soviet bugaboo for more than a trillion dollars in unnecessary military spending. Congressional Democrats—fearful and divided—went along.

Senate intelligence committee Chairman David Boren (D-OK) highlighted the Democrats' complicity in Cold War foreign policy on the first day of the Gates hearings. Boren, testifying to his own patriotic bipartisanship, said, "I am proud of the fact that during the almost five years that I have served as chairman ... we have never had a single vote along party lines in this committee." Imagine, a committee that authorizes an annual budget of more than \$30 billion that hasn't found an issue of substantive difference between the parties since the Democrats took control of the Senate in 1987.

Nor would it during the confirmation process. By voting to approve Gates, the Senate overlooked preposterous responses from Gates to questions about his role in Iran-contra (see *In These Times*, Sept. 11) and ignored serious allegations that Gates helped direct the production of politicized intelligence by the CIA throughout the '80s.

Slant right: On September 25, in a closed hearing, five CIA analysts with responsibility for the Soviet Union testified about Gates' handling of intelligence during the Reagan years. Three of them, Hal Ford, Jennifer Glaudemans and Mel Goodman, claimed that Gates was the driving force behind a systematic slanting of intelligence to justify the hard line on the Soviet Union favored by then-Director of Central Intelligence William J. Casey. The charges were so serious that Chairman Boren agreed to air them in public.

The October 1 and 2 public hearings much resembled the Clarence Thomas hearings after Anita Hill's charges became public. The Republicans—led by New Hampshire Sen. Warren Rudman, mounted a scurrilous partisan campaign to discredit the anti-Gates witnesses. Rudman and his Republican colleagues suggested that Goodman, who started as a Soviet analyst at the same time as Gates, was motivated by jealousy. When Gates became deputy director for intelligence (DDI) in 1982, Goodman was several rungs below as director of the Third World Division of the Office of Soviet Analysis (SOVA).

Goodman and Gates clashed immediately after Gates was elevated to DDI. A few weeks after Gates took over the Directorate of Intelligence, Goodman's division produced an estimate largely debunking the theory that the Soviet Union was responsible for all world-wide terrorism. Gates insisted it be rewritten.

In a memo to Goodman, Gates attacked SOVA's conclusion that the Soviets would

Consent and consent: Senate backs ill-advised choice for top CIA post



On November 5, the Senate confirmed Robert Gates as director of central intelligence.

have difficulty expanding their stable of client states as "a fundamental flaw in the draft." He demanded a broadening of the historical sections of the paper, including discussion of the fact that "the Third World has had ideological and political importance for the Soviet Union since the revolution." SOVA's revised report fudged the fact that there was no hard intelligence linking the Soviets to a global terrorist network and allowed the Reagan administration to continue blaming the Soviets for terrorism because of vague "indirect" support.

Glaudemans, a junior analyst who left the agency in 1989, testified that SOVA analysts censored themselves throughout the '80s because they feared Gates wouldn't permit their honest views to be disseminated. But commit-

tee Republicans breezily dismissed Glaudemans as a low-level analyst who had little personal contact with Gates and was unsuited to the intellectual rigors of the analytical process.

Hal Ford presented a bigger problem. Ford, a former chairman of the National Intelligence Council, is highly regarded within the intelli-

gence community and on Capitol Hill as a man of honor. Ford told the committee that he had intended to present neutral testimony, but when he heard Goodman's charges and received phone calls from friends in the community corroborating Goodman's views, he decided to oppose the nomination.

The Republicans consoled themselves by saying that Ford's conclusions were based on "hearsay." In effect, the intelligence committee agreed with the judiciary committee that a presidential nominee should be confirmed unless he or she can be proven guilty of criminal wrongdoing by the standards of a jury trial.

"Flabby thinking": In pursuing this silly standard, the committee ignored very real evidence of Gates' intellectual dishonesty. On Jan. 7, 1982, just after he became DDI, Gates gave a speech to CIA analysts drawing on his experience as a National Security Council staffer in the Ford and Carter administrations. Gates said that policymakers found much analysis to be "irrelevant or untimely or unfocused or all three." He chided the analysts for "flabby, complacent thinking" and upbraided their "closed-minded, smug, arrogant responses to legitimate questions and constructive criticism" from policymakers. During the hearings, Gates' supporters attributed much of the criticism he faced from colleagues to "whining" from analysts who couldn't meet the tough new standards he demanded as DDI. Whining, however, fails to explain the bureaucratic contortions that resulted in analysis that dovetailed with the views of Director Casey and President Reagan.

A 1985 paper entitled "Agca's Attempt to Kill the Pope: The Case for Soviet Involvement" was produced on short notice by a small circle of analysts who were instructed not to discuss it with other Soviet analysts. Several key Soviet analysts were given only a weekend to respond to the draft before it was coordinated with other agencies.

Gates insisted to the committee that the estimate was an academic exercise designed only to marshal the evidence for Soviet involvement, not to assert that the intelligence community believed that the evidence necessarily indicted the Soviets. Yet, as DDI, Gates signed a covering memo to Vice President Bush describing it as the "CIA's first comprehensive examination of who was behind the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II." Even the usually reticent Democrats noted that no one was assigned to do a formal paper on the much stronger case against Soviet involvement.

Consent and consent: As with so much else in Washington, however, the real scandals at the hearings were not the partisan quarrels at the margins of policy but the points of agreement and consensus. When members of both parties smile, nod and congratulate one another on their bipartisanship, cover your wallet with one hand and with the other clutch the Constitution close to your breast: an assault on both is sure to follow.

At the hearing on politicization, one of the pro-Gates witnesses, Larry Gershwin, sat pa-

Continued on page 11

IN THESE TIMES NOV. 13-19, 1991 7

By David Moberg

WHATEVER BANKING LEGISLATION eventually emerges from Congress this year, one thing is virtually certain: it won't cure a seriously ailing financial system.

Following last week's lopsided House vote against a compromise Democratic bill, neither President Bush's grand plan to deregulate the banks nor efforts to impose new regulations in exchange for financial aid to the industry are likely to pass.

Yet because the Bank Insurance Fund is broke, or will be soon, Congress and the administration will muddle through with a temporary palliative that will conveniently postpone a full-blown crisis until after next year's election.

"We're now traveling down the same slippery slope as with the [savings and loan insurance fund] in the mid-'80s," warns Tom Schlesinger, director of the liberal/populist Financial Democracy Campaign.

Déjà vu all over again: After bailing out the thrifts, Congress wanted to avoid the same disaster with banks by fixing the bank deposit insurance system. The savings and loans got in trouble because they were deregulated and poorly supervised at a time when they were able to attract virtually unlimited sums of government insured deposits to invest in risky ventures.

As the S&L debacle unfolded, it became increasingly evident that the banking industry was also in big trouble: from 1987 to 1989 more than 200 banks a year failed, more each year than in all of nearly four decades from 1942 to 1980. Bush proposed further deregulation of big commercial banks with a modest revision of deposit insurance.

When a House compromise tacked on many restrictions, the bankers and Bush decided no bill was better. Many liberals also disliked the bill: it gave the banks too much while gaining little in return. For example, despite a recent Federal Reserve Board study showing that banks discriminate heavily against blacks in lending, the House rejected an anti-discrimination amendment.

Congress will most likely pass legislation to provide the Bank Insurance Fund (BIF) with \$70 billion in credit. That would include \$25 billion to pay for anticipated losses as the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation shuts down many hundreds of failing banks. But the FDIC now estimates that it will cost as much as \$44 billion to shut down anticipated failures, and two outside experts estimate that the FDIC will need at least \$50 billion. If the recession lingers or deepens,



United Features Syndicate

Will new banking bill insure a bigger bailout?

the bill will rise. On its face, such refinancing of BIF is inadequate, but it's not clear the weakening banks can even pay the higher

ECONOMY

fees BIF will assess to repay the likely congressional loan.

The anticipated narrow bill will probably tighten regulatory control of failing banks a little. It may put very modest limits on the

Congress and the administration will muddle through with a temporary palliative that will conveniently postpone a full-blown banking crisis until after next year's election.

amount of deposits to be insured and insist that any decision to bail out a bank because it is "too big to fail" be made by the Treasury Department and paid out of general revenue, not the Bank Insurance Fund. That will make

political leaders, not bank regulators, responsible for big bailout decisions.

But this tinkering with deposit insurance fails both to confront the changed nature of the financial services industry and to clearly define the goals deposit insurance should serve.

Deposit insurance was adopted during the Depression to maintain confidence in the banking system and prevent runs on banks and consequent financial panics. Such panics can be prompted by either legitimate or ill-grounded fears. Since bank lending is one of the main ways in which the economy creates money and credit to sustain economic growth, panics can quickly collapse the credit system, not simply shut down a few bad banks or wipe out deposits of their unlucky customers.

By giving depositors confidence that their money is protected, bank panics and systemic crises are less likely. There is the added, important benefit of protecting small, vulnerable savers. Banks are special—and require closer regulation than other businesses—because of their central role in sustaining the real economy and the importance of trust in bankers' judgment.

D'Arista's plan: Economist Jane D'Arista, an associate director of the Morin Center for Banking Law Studies at Boston University and a former congressional staff researcher, has outlined a comprehensive reworking of deposit insurance in a study for the liberal Economic Policy Institute.

D'Arista proposes that the government insure the savings of individuals, not the banks themselves. Up to some undetermined limit, such savings would be insured whether they were in banks, savings and loans, insurance policies, credit unions, mutual funds, pensions or any of the other institutions that have increasingly supplanted bank savings accounts over the past 50 years. The insurance would be paid by a modest, tax-deductible assessment on the interest or gains on the savings.

The money businesses' use for paying current bills would be insured with no limits as long as they were kept in non-interest paying accounts. D'Arista argues that it is important to protect such accounts so businesses could meet payrolls and pay bills.

With the spread of deposit insurance to all forms of savings, similar regulations on capital requirements and prudent behavior, such as insisting on diverse investments and loans, would be enforced on all savings institutions. That would help level the proverbial playing field, which banks want, and confront a grim reality: banks, pension funds, insurance companies and nearly all savings vehicles are at risk today, and the federal or state insurance funds that exist to protect some of them are shaky.

Beyond the insured limit, individuals could put their savings where they liked, yet would have to judge market risks. If regulators found an institution that failed to meet standards, they could announce that they were suspending insurance, giving depositors fair warning.

No success like failure: In recent years the Bank Insurance Fund has been used to subsidize the sale of failing institutions to bigger, sounder banks, but rarely to pay off depositors. It has also been used to insure deposits without limit in cases where the FDIC has decided the bank was so big that its collapse would shake confidence in the financial system. Under D'Arista's plan there would be an end to both practices. An insolvent institution would simply fail—anyone could then buy it on the open market.

There have been several proposals to insure deposits only at new "narrow banks" that could only hold cash or high-grade government securities. But D'Arista pointedly argues that such restrictions would undermine the primary social rationale for banks: providing an intermediary between diverse savings and economically productive loans.

Alternately, proposals from free-market advocates to abolish insurance or make it private are foolhardy, D'Arista argues. The government in every country ultimately backs its banking system, often much more fully than the United States does. Private insurance is never safe enough. For example, D'Arista points out, the entire commercial paper market that many corporations use as an alternative to traditional borrowing from banks rests on guarantees banks make to provide those corporations loans if they can't roll over their commercial paper. What happens to that insurance if the banks fail?

Indeed a study in the current New York Federal Reserve *Review* concludes that big foreign banks have a competitive edge over their U.S. counterparts because their governments provide a stronger safety net which lowers bank equity costs. Also those banks work more closely with their governments to promote stable domestic economies.

D'Arista acknowledges her deposit proposal is not a panacea. Banks are in trouble, she says, in large part because the domestic economy has been so unstable. To revive the economy and save the banks worth saving, the Financial Democracy Campaign's Schlesinger argues that the country needs "a big dose of borrower-oriented debt relief." According to Schlesinger, "the scope of the internal debt crisis is comparable to the Third World debt crisis." Banks could be given some forbearance or latitude, he argues, in exchange for restructuring domestic debt.

"We need to reroute the financial system," D'Arista argues. "We have a map that is out of date. The main roads have been swamped by the detours. We have to deal with the issues of stability and debt. Consumers are over their heads in debt. They can't spend. If they can't spend, nobody can produce or hire."

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By Gregory Bergman

DICK THORNBURGH RECENTLY LABELED the concept of national health care "communistic." Last week Pennsylvania voters defied Thornburgh's red scare. They overwhelmingly turned back the former attorney general's Senate bid by electing Democrat Harris Wofford, who had unabashedly campaigned on a national health platform (see editorial on page 14).

GOP strategists are all too aware that Amer-

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ica's growing health crisis is a potent electoral issue. But the Bush administration has no intention of crossing its corporate friends in the insurance industry. The White House thus has been seeking ways of appeasing voters without threatening industry profits. On November 5, the day Wofford was elected, Secretary of Health Louis Sullivan convened a summit conference of insurers, doctors and hospital administrators. The secretary urged them to streamline the current health system by adopting a standard claim form that could be electronically filed.

But Sullivan—who went to Pennsylvania to campaign for Thornburgh—has made it clear that the administration opposes a national health insurance program, which he insists would increase costs, "smother competition and innovation ... and lead to rationing and waiting lists, exacerbating our problems of access to the system."

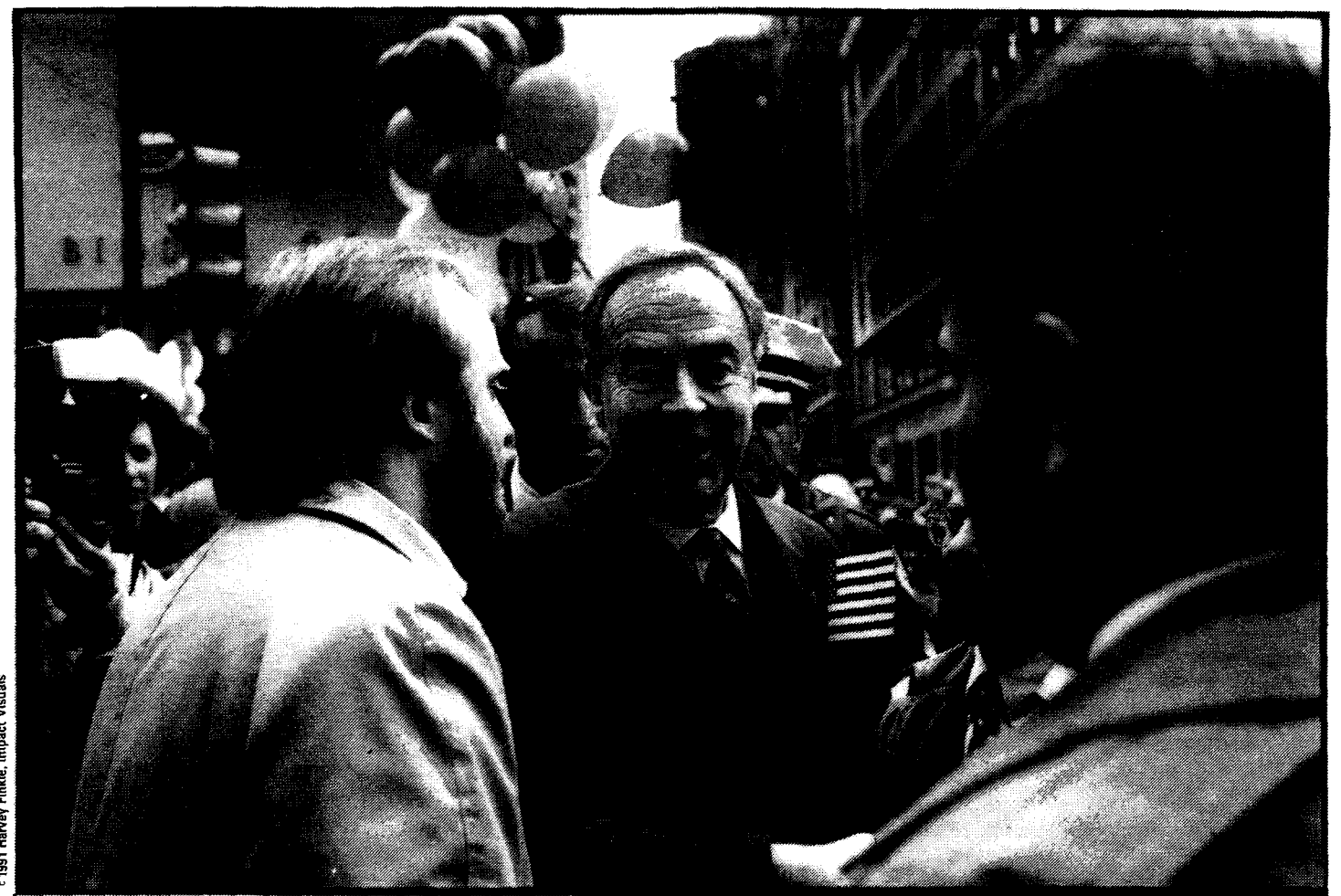
Problems and solutions: With 37 million Americans uninsured—and with millions more having only spotty or occasional health coverage—a growing number of consumer groups, unions and senior-citizens' organizations are challenging Sullivan's assertions. As Robert Dreyfuss of the Public Citizen Health Research Group recently explained to the *Washington Post*, "The primary obstacle to a good health care system is the health insurance industry. The secretary is approaching the problem backward if he thinks the insurance industry is part of the solution rather than part of the problem."

Sullivan, however, questions the accuracy of a recent Public Citizen study that claims the U.S. could save an estimated \$100 billion to \$135 billion a year in paperwork if it changed to a Canadian-style health insurance system with a single payer, the government.

Not surprisingly, the Health Insurance Association of America (HIAA), an industry group, sides with Sullivan. "The United States government has a less than exemplary record as an administrator of health care financing.... Such a program would require most Americans to pay substantially higher taxes for what ultimately would become a system producing a reduced quality of health care," a representative of the association said.

A closer look: But statistics show just the opposite: when it comes to administering health insurance, the federal government—far from being "less than exemplary"—has a much better record than private industry in terms of cost-effectiveness and eliminating red tape. To understand why this is so, we must first take a look at the way the system currently operates.

According to the HIAA's own statistics, the industry is a complicated mess. There are more than 1,500 companies providing health insurance in the U.S., according to the HIAA. They offer a smorgasbord of policies, each with varying benefits and limitations—often quite difficult to evaluate. In Northern California alone, for instance, Prudential Insur-



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Talking about health in a sick city: Pennsylvania Sen. Harris Wofford, campaigning here in Philadelphia, made national health care a central issue.

Private insurance no match for public health care

ance offers 50 different policies. Blue Cross offers 23. Nationally, Blue Cross Blue Shield offers a total of 65 different plans.

What is the administrative cost—the overhead—involved in such a multiplicity of plans? And how much of the premium paid in by the subscriber actually goes to pay for medical benefits? In the case of Prudential Insurance of America, 83.9 percent of premium money paid is returned to the subscriber in benefits, according to the 1991 edition of *National Underwriters Profiles Health Insurers*, an industry guide. The 16.1 percent balance goes to administration, claims processing, commissions to sales personnel, advertising and profits to investors. Aetna Life Insurance Company shows a benefit-to-premium ratio of 74.1 percent; Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 76.3 percent; Travelers Insurance Company, 83.7 percent; and Mutual of Omaha Insurance Company, 73.1 percent.

Some health insurers have far worse records. Only 15.9 percent of Munich American Reassurance's premiums go back into benefits, for example, and at Midland Mutual Life Insurance Company, the percentage drops to 11.9. But even the benefits-to-premium ratio of big insurers such as Prudential and Travelers are only good in relative terms—that is, when they are compared to other private for-profit insurers.

For example, a 1990 House Ways and Means subcommittee studying Medigap—the Medicare supplement for Americans over 65—reported that 83 commercial companies have a benefit-to-premium ratio of less than 60 percent, 17 of them under 40 percent—and only 55 companies show a ratio of over 60 percent. Only three show a ratio of over 90 percent, out of 138 companies in a survey.

By contrast, none of the non-profit Blue Cross Blue Shield groups had a benefit-to-

premium ratio of under 60 percent on Medigap policies. Out of 33 Blue groups, only 13 had a ratio of under 80 percent, with another 13 reporting over 90 percent benefit ratio. The two Blues showed a benefit ratio for all ages of 89.3 percent on a yearly business of \$62.6 billion in 1990.

The best deal: But not even the non-profit Blues are as efficient as the federal government. Federal Medicare had an administrative cost of only 3.6 percent for 1990 on \$41.5 billion of benefits to physicians and an insignificant 1.2 percent administrative cost on \$66.7 billion of hospital benefits, according to the federal Health Care Finance Administration. It sub-contracts its claims processing to private insurers, but has few of the other costs—such as advertising—associated with private insurance. "It's a much better deal for taxpayers and beneficiaries," declared Rep. Fortney Stark (D-CA).

The private enterprise model, then, shows the highest administrative cost, the non-profit Blue Cross Blue Shield considerably lower; Medicare, federally administered but contracting out the claims processing, has the least administrative cost of all.

Beyond cost there is the burdensome red tape usually considered peculiar to government. But in the case of health insurance, the government is less of a sinner than private industry. Medicare, for example, has one uniform policy for the entire nation, just one—in contrast to the myriad policies of the 1,500 private health insurers.

"Policies are legal contracts, they employ precise language and can appear confusing," concedes the Health Insurance Association of America in an information booklet. This is a gross understatement. The same booklet confounds its readers with a buzzword-laden list of possible policy limitations: deductibles, co-payments, pre-existing condition, elimination period, benefit maximum, lifetime maxi-

mum, reinstated benefits, entrance age, guaranteed renewable, conditionally renewable, at company option. So confusing are claims procedures that many potential recipients give up in despair and fail to file claims, according to the findings of the Consumers' Union of California.

Physicians are burdened as well. The eight physicians in the Berkeley (Calif.) Cardiovascular Group employ 16 staff persons, six of whom assist the physicians. Another 10 are engaged entirely in accounting—interpreting the myriad of insurance policies, billing and follow-up, according to Mabel Minimoto, manager of the accounting department. Much the same problem occurs in hospitals.

Within the next several months, all Medigap policies will be streamlined into 10 standardized plans—but it should be noted that even this reform is the result of congressional intervention, not industry initiative.

"Our medical system is the most bureaucratic in the world, if measured by the volume of paperwork generated per transaction. For every \$100 in health care, we buy \$25 worth of pluralism—accountants, advertisers, marketers and financiers," according to health economist Uwe Reinhardt.

A better way: Such statistics are leading many health experts to conclude that the private health industry should be abolished. Dr. Thomas Bodenheimer of Physicians for a National Health Program argues that industry wastes billions in marketing and administrative costs. Furthermore, he says, the industry is unfair to many groups in society—particularly the poor, sick and aged—and undermines the positive features of health maintenance organizations. "For the last 40 years, [the industry] has fostered an unrelenting health care inflation (between 5 and 13 percent each year) unequalled in the world," Bodenheimer wrote in *The International Journal of Health Services*.

But the insurance industry has tremendous financial and political clout, says Bodenheimer. Its assets, \$1.4 trillion, exceed the combined worldwide assets of 50 of the nation's largest industrial corporations. Scores of lobbyists—some 60 in Massachusetts alone—influ-

Continued on page 22

By Ken Silverstein & Clara Rivera

RIO DE JANEIRO

BENEDITO ALVES DA SILVA IS A DESCENDANT of slaves. Though he isn't sure which part of Africa his ancestors came from, he does know that for more than 200 years his family has lived in Ivaporunduva, a small village that overlooks the Ribeira de Iguape River in Brazil's southern São Paulo state.

He's also a bit hazy about how slaves became masters of the community, though he's certain that Ivaporunduva's last private owner was a woman named Joana Maria, who came to the region in search of gold.

One thing da Silva has no doubts about, however, is the threat of dispossession represented by Batatal, a dam proposed by the São Paulo State Energy Company (CESP). He says that construction will almost certainly mean that his family and 60 others that reside in Ivaporunduva will end up in urban shantytowns—just like countless poor Brazilians who have fallen victim to the whims of progress. "We aren't rich, but we aren't threatened by the crime, poverty and unemployment of the city," the 36-year-old father of four says. "For us, the only threat is the dam."

In fact, thousands of poor families will be displaced if two dams proposed by CESP and a third planned by the Brazilian Aluminum Company (CBA) are built in the Ribeira Valley, which runs between São Paulo and Parana states.

The three dams would also flood an important stretch of Brazil's dwindling, legally protected Atlantic Forest. Last September, President Fernando Collor de Mello banned all activities that would further deplete the woodland, which once blanketed Brazil's 4,500-mile Atlantic coast. The forest has now been reduced to isolated patches totaling less than 9 percent of its original size. What's left serves as sanctuary to 171 endangered species including the golden lion tamarin, the thin-spined porcupine, the spotted jaguar and the muriqui, South America's largest monkey. The largest remaining contiguous stretch of forest lies in the Ribeira Valley.

The World Wildlife Fund, which considers the Atlantic Forest one of the most threatened tropical woodlands in the world, called Collor's action a "last-minute reprieve for an all-but-doomed ecosystem." Yet planning for the dams continues to move forward, despite the president's measure.

Environmental impact statements needed to obtain permission to build are nearing completion for Batatal as well as for Funil,

Brazilian dams create slaves of progress

the second of CESP's proposed dams. Tijuco Alto is even further along, having long since been OK'd by Brazil's National Department of Water and Electric Energy. Approval from the environmental agencies in Parana and São Paulo states is the last remaining obstacle to construction.

The total area to be flooded is about 25,000 acres. The construction of complementary works and new roads to replace flooded byways would result in further destruction of

ENERGY

the forest. "The amount of forest that would be lost is not enormous, but it is part of an extremely important area," says Teresa Furtado, of the SOS Atlantic Forest Foundation. Construction of any of the dams, she says, would "establish a dangerous precedent and make it impossible to stop new projects in the Atlantic forest."

Ignorance is bliss: The companies involved, however, refuse to acknowledge that they would flood protected wilderness. CESP spokeswoman Lucilene Dempsey says she isn't sure if any forest area would be flooded by her company's dams. And CBA Vice President Miguel de Carvalho Dias flatly denies that Tijuco Alto would destroy "natural vegetation," even though the company's own environmental impact statement says forest area would be flooded.

Environmental groups and independent state agencies unanimously agree that the projects represent an ecological hazard. Sergio Vassimon of São Paulo state's Forestry Foundation says the dams are "totally illegal by the guidelines of the [governmental] decree."

Opponents fear the political clout of the dam builders will sweep aside environmental considerations. CBA is owned by the Votorantim Group, the country's largest private business conglomerate. Its owner, Antonio Ermirio de Moraes, Brazil's richest man with a fortune estimated at \$1 billion, is a close ally of the São Paulo state governor.

The evaluation process also favors interested parties, because the environmental impact statements are drawn up by private

firms paid by those seeking to build. "The independence of the company which prepares the statement is very relative," says Maude Nancy Motta, a lawyer representing 15 environmental groups suing to stop Tijuco Alto. "In Brazil, economic interests speak louder than the law itself."

But construction of the dams does not simply mean disregard for environmental law. Local church officials say slaves who ran away from Ivaporunduva in the 18th century founded clandestine free black communities called *quilombos* that, though protected by the federal constitution, would be flooded by Batatal. Also to be put under water is Ivaporunduva's small adobe church, built by slaves in 1791 and protected by the São Paulo state constitution as a cultural treasure. Ironically, residents' pleas for repair of the crumbling chapel have been repeatedly turned down, because preservation precludes any type of modifications.

Community leader José Rodrigues complains that statutes protecting the environment and cultural landmarks are so tightly enforced that residents are not allowed to replant on formerly cleared land, but CESP's Batatal dam would flood almost 6,500 acres of forest. "The law makes no sense," he says.

Construction of the dams almost certainly means that hundreds of families will end up in urban shantytowns—like countless poor Brazilians before them who have fallen victim to the whims of progress.

"We are fined if we try to plant rice and beans to eat, but this company wants to put our village completely under water."

Deep roots: Opposition to the dams is nearly unanimous in Ivaporunduva, where families eke out a living from subsistence agriculture, fishing and hunting small game such as wild pig, armadillo and an occasional deer. Residents rise with the sun and work the land until sundown. There is no real incentive to increase the harvest because there is no means to transport it to nearby towns. Ivaporunduva is accessible only by canoe or motorless raft.

For years, villagers have unsuccessfully pleaded with state authorities to construct a bridge across the river so they can transport excess crops to Eldorado and greatly increase revenues. Instead, they are forced to sell for a minimal price to middlemen who visit the village and transport the goods back to town. Twice, political candidates came to the village at campaign time, bringing wood planks they said would be used for bridge construction as soon as they won office. But

after their electoral victories, the promises were forgotten—one time campaign workers returned to retrieve the wood.

Increasing destruction of the forest and growing pollution in the river have sharply reduced the take from hunting and fishing. As a result, more and more of the men are forced to work part-time for area landowners for just a few dollars a day. But while their lifestyle may be precarious, villagers have no desire to be anywhere else. As Rodrigues says, "We aren't dying of hunger and have what we need. We were born and raised here, and if we are forced out we will lose our roots along with our land."

Until recently, Ivaporunduva's residents were either uninterested or ashamed of their slave heritage. But attitudes have changed, especially after a São Paulo black rights group established contacts with the community. "We have pride in our history," says da Silva. "It's sad because our start in Brazil was bloody. But we have struggled, and we want to preserve our history."

José Rodrigues says that the community's history—and the struggle of the country's black population—is an added incentive in the fight to stay on the land. "For a long time, I believed things were meant to be the way they are, that they were fated. Now I know that they're not, that we have a long history that explains our situation."

Bad examples: The São Paulo-based National Movement Against Dams—which is backed by the leftist Central Workers Union, the country's largest labor federation—says past energy projects have been implemented on the backs of the poor and rarely benefited local communities. One of the most commonly cited examples is the Balbina dam in the northern state of Amazonas, where power lines run directly above poor communities without electricity. Another is Itaipu, the world's largest dam, which displaced thousands of families in southern Brazil—among them members of one Indian tribe who await permanent resettlement that was promised 15 years ago.

Nor do the companies involved in the Ribeira Valley projects have sterling track records. CESP has frequently been accused of grossly underpaying those displaced by past projects. CBA is a minority partner in Mineracao Rio do Norte, a consortium that operates a bauxite mining project in the northern Amazon state of Para. A number of former *quilombo* communities are located in the area and were badly disrupted by the project's implementation. The consortium was also fined \$85 million for polluting a major lake.

Ivaporunduva's residents are refusing to talk to CESP officials until they get a reply to a letter they sent the company late last year. It read, in part, "How are you going to calculate and pay the value of the history, roots, culture and origin of our people? What are you going to do with us? Where are you going to take us? Why should energy be exported at the cost of our lives?"

Thirty-five-year-old Nizete Rorigues de Moraes has several generations of ancestors buried in Ivaporunduva's cemetery and promises she won't be pushed out. She says the community has nothing to discuss with CESP. "They promise us progress, but ... our roots are here, and they want to destroy our past."

Ken Silverstein and **Clara Rivera** are Rio de Janeiro-based journalists. Silverstein is also co-author of *Without Fear of Being Happy: Lula, the Workers Party and Brazil* (Verso).

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Gates

Continued from page 7

tiently through a contentious 16-hour day, waiting to answer questions from the committee. Virtually none came, in large part because Gershwin, as national intelligence officer for Strategic Programs, was responsible for analyzing Soviet military capability, whereas the disputes centered on Soviet intentions in the Third World and the intelligence community's failure to detect the internal political decay of the Soviet Union. Everyone smiled, nodded and applauded Gershwin for helping the CIA accurately gauge Soviet military capabilities during the '80s. Yet Gershwin spent much of the mid-'80s warning that the Soviets might have or might soon attain a technical lead in strategic defense systems, with the obvious corollary that the U.S. must invest in the Strategic Defense Initiative. This at a time when Soviet scientists were racing to unlock the dread secrets of the personal computer.

Promoting a paper tiger: In retrospect, it is clear that former CIA Director William

Casey, Gates and other hardliners seized upon the Soviets' 1978 Afghanistan invasion as evidence of a relentless pursuit of power that could be checked only by resurgent U.S. militarism. As it turned out, of course, they mistook the last gasp of the Soviet empire for evidence of its vitality. In the late '70s and early '80s, the politics and economy of the Soviet Union were grinding to a halt.

Could have fooled the CIA, though. As Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) has repeatedly noted, the agency's 1986 "Handbook of Economic Statistics," published under Gates' auspices as deputy director for intelligence, estimated the Soviet economy at roughly 60 percent the size of the United States'. The handbook also said per capita income in East Germany was greater than West Germany's. Intelligence analysis is an imprecise business, but the CIA overestimated the capacity of the communist economies by two or three times.

These mistakes had the fortuitous effect—

whether intended or not—of making the dire predictions of Gates, Gershwin and their fellow military analysts look plausible. In 1986, as the Soviet Union crumbled and Mikhail Gorbachov desperately implemented his reforms, Gates delivered a speech on Soviet foreign policy entitled "War by Another Name." In it, Gates breathlessly warned that the Evil Empire had nefarious designs on the Panama Canal, South African mineral resources and Middle Eastern oil fields. That same year he and Gershwin cooked up a similar speech about Soviet strategic defense that would be hilarious in retrospect, were it not for the fact that Congress subsequently coughed up billions of dollars for Reagan's Star Wars fantasy.

Under tough questioning from Sen. Bill Bradley (D-NJ), Gates conceded that there had been "no basis in intelligence" for the conclusions presented in the "War by Another Name" speech. One might think

such an admission would destroy Gates' credibility as an intelligence professional. And if that wasn't enough, Gates also attributed his difficulties remembering the specifics of other politicization charges to "a major data dump" he performed on his memory after leaving the CIA in January 1989.

Gates' selective memory and puerile bluster should have gotten him a quick boot. Sadly, however, the committee proved willing to accept preposterous and unsupported arguments as long as they had not been proven perjurious.

Even now that the analytical process Gates oversaw has been discredited by the sworn testimony of former CIA officials, the Democrats still don't care. But then, why should they? The manufacture of shoddy intelligence was simply another part of the great bipartisan looting of America during the '80s, a spree in which congressional Democrats got their share of the booty. □

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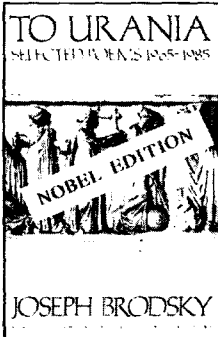
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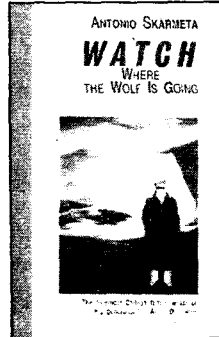
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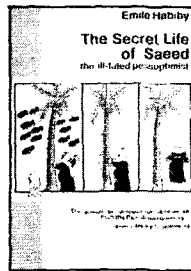
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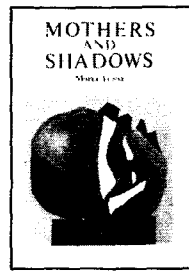
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By Jamin B. Raskin

Once upon a time, selling health food was a radical challenge to corporate America. The '60s counterculture believed that an organic diet would liberate citizens from the stranglehold of agribusiness and its toxic food chain, which soaked the land in chemicals, mistreated migrant farm workers and hooked the public on carcinogenic eating habits. Selling fresh, healthy food at cost, buying it in a neighborhood co-op or an outdoors farmers' market, and eating it with others: these were seen as political acts that evoked solidarity with farm workers and a commitment to democratic change.

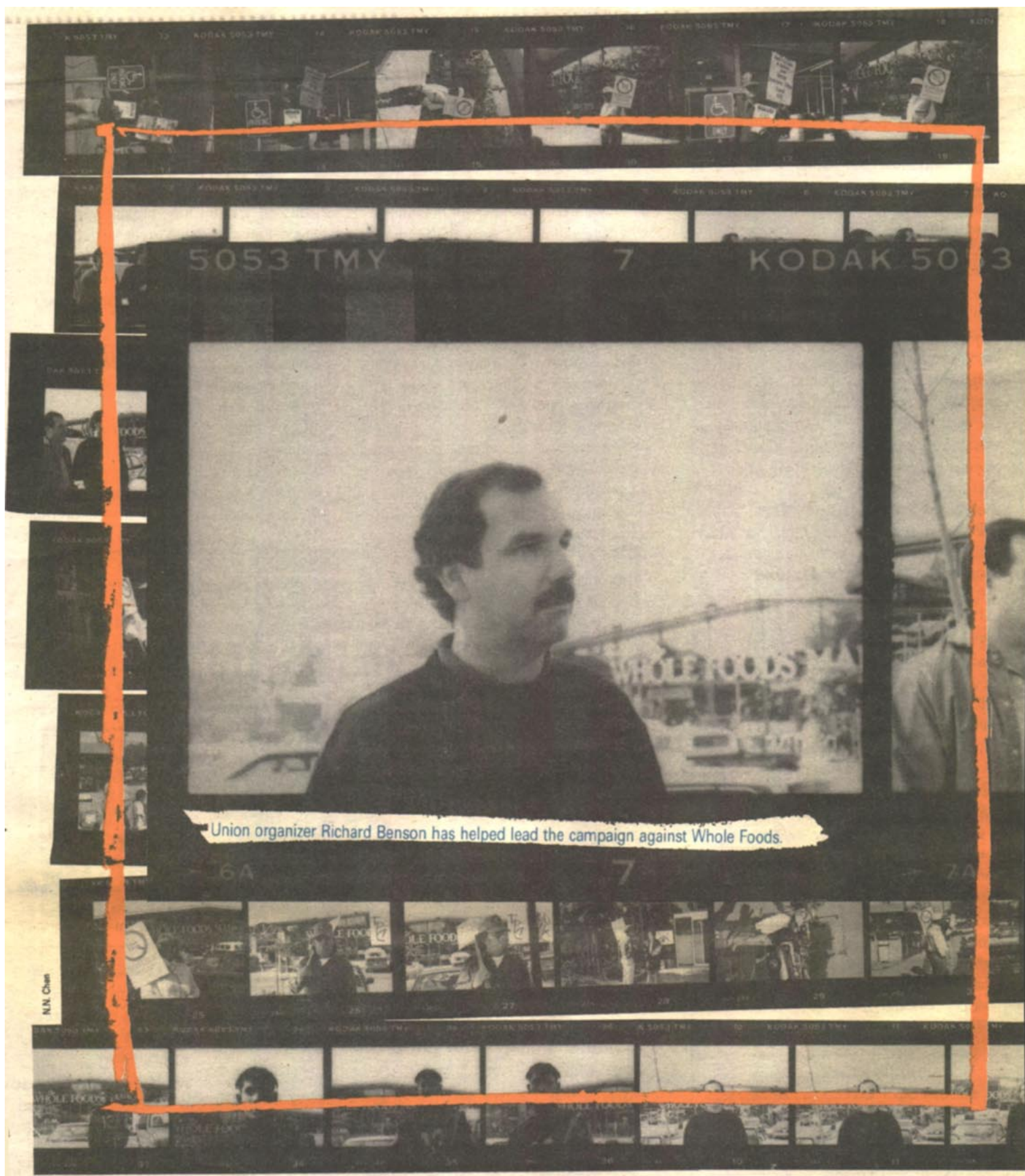
Today, health food, in cultural terms, is primarily a gourmet treat for the rich. In economic terms, it's no longer the nourishment of the counterculture but one more big business for Big Business. Nowhere are these changes more striking than in the largest chain of health food supermarkets in America, the upscale Texas-based Whole Foods Market, which now has 13 stores nationwide. Whole Foods keeps up leafy-green appearances but makes no apologies for its single-minded devotion to profit and its fierce determination to keep its wages low, its venture-capitalist investors hidden and its workforce young, powerless and union-free. The rise of this corporation—pro-New Age in rhetoric, anti-New Deal in practice—raises hard questions for progressive consumers and the labor movement. Will health food be just for rich people? Will venture capitalists who appropriate the language and symbols of the New Age be able to turn young workers against unions by portraying them as old and unhip?

Guns and butter: Spread over Texas, Louisiana, California and North Carolina, Whole Foods does \$75 million a year in business and is owned primarily by outside investors and top-level managers. In 1988, 38-year-old chief executive officer John Mackey, a registered Libertarian who freely quotes Milton and Rose Friedman, negotiated the sale of more than one-third of company stock and three of eight seats on its board of directors to three venture capital firms. Two of the firms are heavily invested in military research and development projects, including Star Wars, the B-1 bomber, military supercomputers, military robotics and artificial intelligence for CIA operations. Together with Mackey and his multimillionaire father, these venture capitalists now comprise an active majority on the Whole Foods board.

Whole Foods' management resists the idea that its venture capitalists exercise any real influence in the business. The head of the company's California operation, Peter Roy, says: "The venture capitalists do not have a major investment in our company. They have three seats out of eight. It's akin to saying that if we sell some frozen yogurt to someone in the army, we're aiding the military."

Adds Mackey: "We don't believe in war and destruction. On the other hand, we don't think the military establishment is inherently evil. It's done some things I don't agree with and some other things too. We need a Defense Department in the United States, so it's not all bad. We can't control our venture capitalists' investments."

But Michael Anderson, a union lawyer doing battle with Whole Foods over its labor prac-



Conservative Whole Foods Market puts kink in the (health) food chain

tices in California, says these arguments miss the point. "The issue isn't who they get their money from. The issue is who runs the company," says Anderson. "The same people that invest in military robotics and phased-ray radar systems for SDI are now sitting on the board of Whole Foods Market. What does that tell you about the future direction of the company?"

Unholistic wages: For employees of the company, the future is now. The only non-union supermarket in Berkeley, Whole Foods pays \$1 to \$5 an hour less than the prevailing supermarket wage in the Bay area. Most Whole Foods employees work at the entry level, ringing up groceries, filling the aisles with cumquats, raspberries, cous-cous and shiitake mushrooms, or preparing sandwiches and cookies in the kitchen. These jobs pay between \$5.50 and \$6.25 per hour. Six bucks an hour comes to about \$14,000 a year before taxes. In Berkeley, Calif., that pays the rent, but not much more. It's an old wage for

the New Age.

Whole Foods dresses up old-fashioned anti-union tactics in New Age clothing. The company gives employees "team member handbooks," that contain this (probably illegal) warning: "Because of our commitment to the team approach, Whole Foods Market is a NON UNION COMPANY." Employees are required to sign a "verification form" affirming not only that they "agree to all the rules, policies and regulations" of the company but that they may be discharged "at any time with or without cause or notice."

Employees are "organized into a variety of teams in order to cultivate a sense of community." These "teams" are modeled loosely after Japanese work units, in which groups of employees focus on different tasks. A number of employees claim that they in fact prefer this work environment to that of other jobs they've held such as fast-food clerk or secre-

tary. But many others say that the egalitarian-sounding "team system" is just corporate camouflage for top-down management decisions.

"I feel that the team member concept at Whole Foods is a publicity stunt and form of indoctrination for the employees," ex-employee Tim Welsing wrote in a union-sponsored newspaper ad that appeared in California's *East Bay Express*. "Very little was ever achieved at our team meetings besides cheer-leading."

Maureen Burt, who was fired as a baker from the store under what she saw as speed-up conditions, gives this analysis of the teams: "They have a cut-throat policy between teams where each group competes against each other and each little autonomous unit polices each other within the team. They didn't want to hire professional bakers, so they hired young people like me and didn't support us. The team system is just a divisive mechanism

to make you work harder. They always say, 'We can train people to stock shelves, but we can't train people to have the right attitude.' The team is supposed to give you the right attitude."

Says Amy Bott Zipporah, a former front-end cashier who left the business disenchanted after four months: "They combine the team mystique with exploiting the need of young people to be part of something. It's the same kind of fantasy the Army offers. But the rate of turnover is incredible. Whole Foods is basically in the business of taking advantage of young people. They're part of a trend of progressive organizations that are not at all progressive. It's about one thing: profit."

Employees who favor a union face real trouble. The Berkeley store fired a model employee named Shuna Lydon after she made two pro-union statements and testified at an unemployment hearing for another discharged worker. Lydon was reinstated after she filed an unfair labor practice claim with the National Labor Relations Board. Says Lydon: "They advertise this like a workers' paradise, and I believed them. But I see the game so clearly now. The team system is designed around controlling what you can and can't do. It's all based on keeping a union out. ... I got fired for doing what they advertise: communicating, being independent, making my own decisions. There's just an incredible amount of union-bashing inside."

The "hip" hype: Whole Foods has reason to fear union sympathies. Less than three months after it opened its Berkeley store in August 1990, the city's official Labor Commission condemned the store because it fails to pay prevailing wages, has no retirement or pension plan and compares badly with unionized stores in health insurance, maternity benefits, sick leave, vacation and holidays. "The Labor Commission feels these employment practices will have a negative impact on the wages and benefits of other workers in the grocery industry in Berkeley," the commission concluded.

Berkeley's Labor Commission also found that Whole Foods has likely "practiced preferential hiring of young whites." This conclusion confirmed the local United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union's assertion that the company practices age discrimination by systematically hiring young people who have no history of union membership, no families to support, no concern about health insurance and a high turnover rate. An age discrimination suit has been filed in Alameda County state court by older workers turned away.

Says Mackey: "We're not discriminating against anybody. Our employee base reflects our applicant pool, and most of our applicants are young people. We're a hip business, and that's who's coming to work for us, young people who want to work for a hip business."

Yet Whole Foods also faces persistent complaints about racism. The old Berkeley food co-op, which inhabited the site of the new store, had a staff that was 77 percent African-American, Asian or Latino and 21 percent white. At Whole Foods, by the store's own count, 70 percent of the employees are white and only 30 percent are from minority groups. This reversal in numbers reflects a corporate attitude that catches up with minority employees.

Tim Welsing, who is black, quit his job in the kitchen several months ago and distrib-

uted leaflets outside the store describing how at first he "listened to their 'team member' and anti-union doctrine with enthusiasm and much idealism," but then quickly grew disenchanted because of "strong elements of oppressive work practices and racism on the part of management. ... I made up my mind to try to expose this situation more fully so that the concerned people of a city such as Berkeley could avoid supporting an institution whose values seemed to run against their own."

Chauncey Smith, who was a cashier at the store, was passed over for a promotion that he thought he deserved. "I'm half-black and half-Filipino, and I could tell there was no future for me in that place," he says. "I quickly realized where these people were coming from. If you go in there and you're not satisfied with something, you'd be fired. They make sure there's no union protection at all."

On April 19, 1991, Mackey responded defiantly to employee Cheryl Mott's complaint in the company newsletter about the scarcity of women and minorities in management positions and the all-male, all-white board of directors.

"I'm going to challenge the 'liberal, politically correct thinking' which many team members naturally assume is identical with the company's philosophy," Mackey wrote. "...I will always oppose the establishment of a 'quota system' at Whole Foods Market. ... None of our Austin stores have many blacks or Hispanics, but none of these stores are in mixed neighborhoods, either. ... The dominant emotions, which seem to me to be often driving affirmative action efforts and 'politically correct thinking,' are guilt (if you're white or male) or resentment (if you're a minority or female) over past discrimination. But these emotions are neither healthy nor healing. ... Minority subcultures in America which put special emphasis on education and delayed gratification, such as Asian and Jewish families, are at the very top of the income distribution curve."

Mackey's concluding thoughts are sobering. "Cheryl asserts that we are failing to foster a 'liberal, progressive, universal image.' No doubt we sometimes do fail at this. But my question is, where in our mission statement do we talk about trying to be liberal, progressive or universal?"

These sentiments are characteristic of Mackey. In the June 16, 1989, issue of *Inner Focus*, a whole foods publication, Mackey wrote: "Money is good. Profit is good. All not-for-profit organizations, as well as all governments, are essentially parasites."

Forget the farmworkers: Whole Foods' break with the progressive past of health food is dramatized by its refusal to honor the United Farm Workers' (UFW) grape boycott. In November 1988, the com-

pany called the Austin police on UFW picketers and had them arrested. The UFW's Texas organizer, Rebecca Flores-Harrington, who spent several hours in jail that day, says she tried to convince Mackey to honor the grape boycott.

"We thought it would be easy to get their support because of their groovy image, but we weren't given the time of day," she says. "I said to Mackey, 'Shouldn't the store do something about the situation of farmworkers in the field?' And Mackey said, 'We're in the business of selling. We don't take political positions.' But later on they said they wouldn't accept tuna from dolphin-killing companies. They had this big press event about that, tons of media. And we showed up and said, 'Why do you care more for dolphins out in the middle of the sea than farmworkers out in the middle of the fields in California?' We got no response. They show more concern for animals than people."

UFW President Cesar Chavez puts it this way: "We are very disappointed with the people of Whole Foods who promote an image about caring for the Earth yet at the same time are not caring enough about farmworkers in California or Texas to support us in our cause to end the use of dangerous pesticides in farms that grow commercial and organic grapes."

Food for thought: Whole Foods' adversaries have begun to coalesce in Berkeley. The Bay area retail clerks and butchers of the United Food and Commercial Workers, who say Whole Foods' substandard wages undermine the bargaining power of supermarket workers, are waging an increasingly sophisticated media campaign against the company, as well as keeping pickets in front of the store.

"We've got 7,500 to 10,000 members of the butchers and retail clerks unions in Alameda County," UFCW business representative Richard Benson says. "They face the threat of employers attempting to take back benefits because of Whole Foods' policies. It's intolerable. It's an assault on their living standards."

These older workers, steeped in blue-collar unionism, are slowly being joined by young workers inside Whole Foods, many with earrings and punk hairdos, who are skeptical about unions but even more discontented with management.

Maureen Burt took part in the union ad campaign. "I lived in Japan for a year and saw the team concept in action. But in this case it's a bunch of bullshit," she says. "A lot of us learned that you can't equate organic vegetables with a politically progressive organization. People have these ideas and symbols that if you sell homeopathic medicines and organic vegetables, then the business is progressive. It's a facade."

Union organizers hope to form an alliance with farmworkers and consumers to force Whole Foods to observe area labor standards.

By quietly convincing these people to stay away from Whole Foods, the unions believe they can send Whole Foods a strong message, even if sales dip only 5 percent to 10 percent in the coming year.

"We've been getting strong support from Berkeley graduate students, people who work in the hospitals that immediately surround the store, and environmentalists calling to offer support," says union organizer Benson. "We're going to continue coalition-building and step up the 'do not shop' campaign. We're making headway. The '90s is a new ballgame."

Unions are "like herpes":

John Mackey isn't worried. He has plans to build five more stores in the Bay area and to become the first health-food chain to go public. "The organic market is littered with inefficiencies," Mackey, the hip capitalist, told *Forbes* magazine, which reported that "Mackey hopes to do to the organic food business what Safeway and A&P did to the greengrocery business a half-century ago."

"I know our team members will never vote a union in," says Mackey, author of a strident company-published pamphlet called *Beyond Unions*. "The unions at one point accused us of Texas-style democracy and Japanese-style teams," he says. "I wasn't ashamed of that. I was proud."

He concedes, however, that his company offers nothing like the extended network of lifetime benefits and protections afforded to Japanese workers. But in Mackey's New-Age-for-owners, as he puts it, "the choice isn't work for us or starve, it's work for us on the terms we offer or work for someone else."

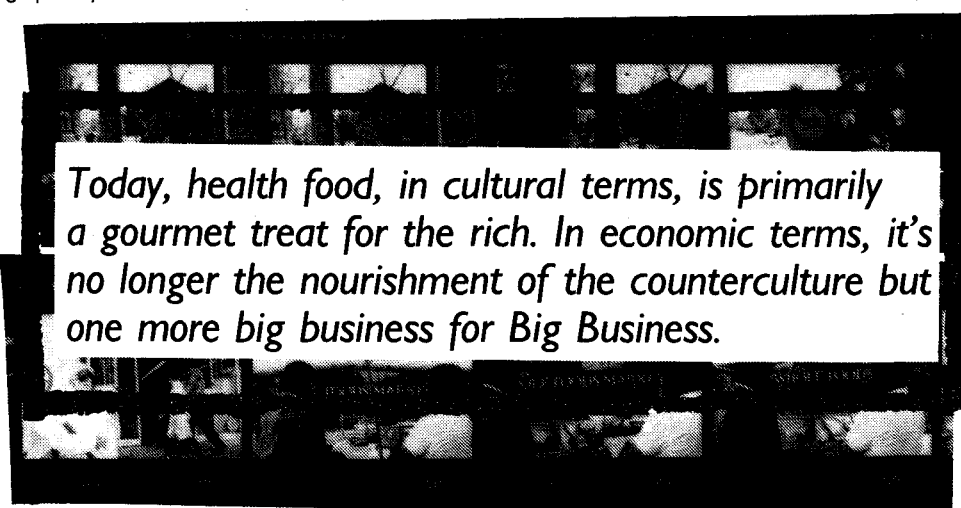
Mackey searches for ever more graphic metaphors to describe the union threat: "Here's the way I like to think of it. The union is like having herpes. It doesn't kill you, but it's unpleasant and inconvenient and it stops a lot of people from becoming your lover. But there's still a lot of people in Berkeley who feel like it's OK to lie down with us. We're doing fine."

Union lawyer Michael Anderson maintains that, with the recession and these slick anti-union tactics, the very existence of unions is on the line.

"What unions have been fighting for for generations is that working people should have some self-determination in their workplace," says Anderson. "We believe in cooperation and trust and love as much as any corporate executive. But you can't have self-determination if you don't have any rights, and you can't have genuine participation and democracy unless working people have the same bargaining power as the people that manage them. That's why unions were built to begin with."

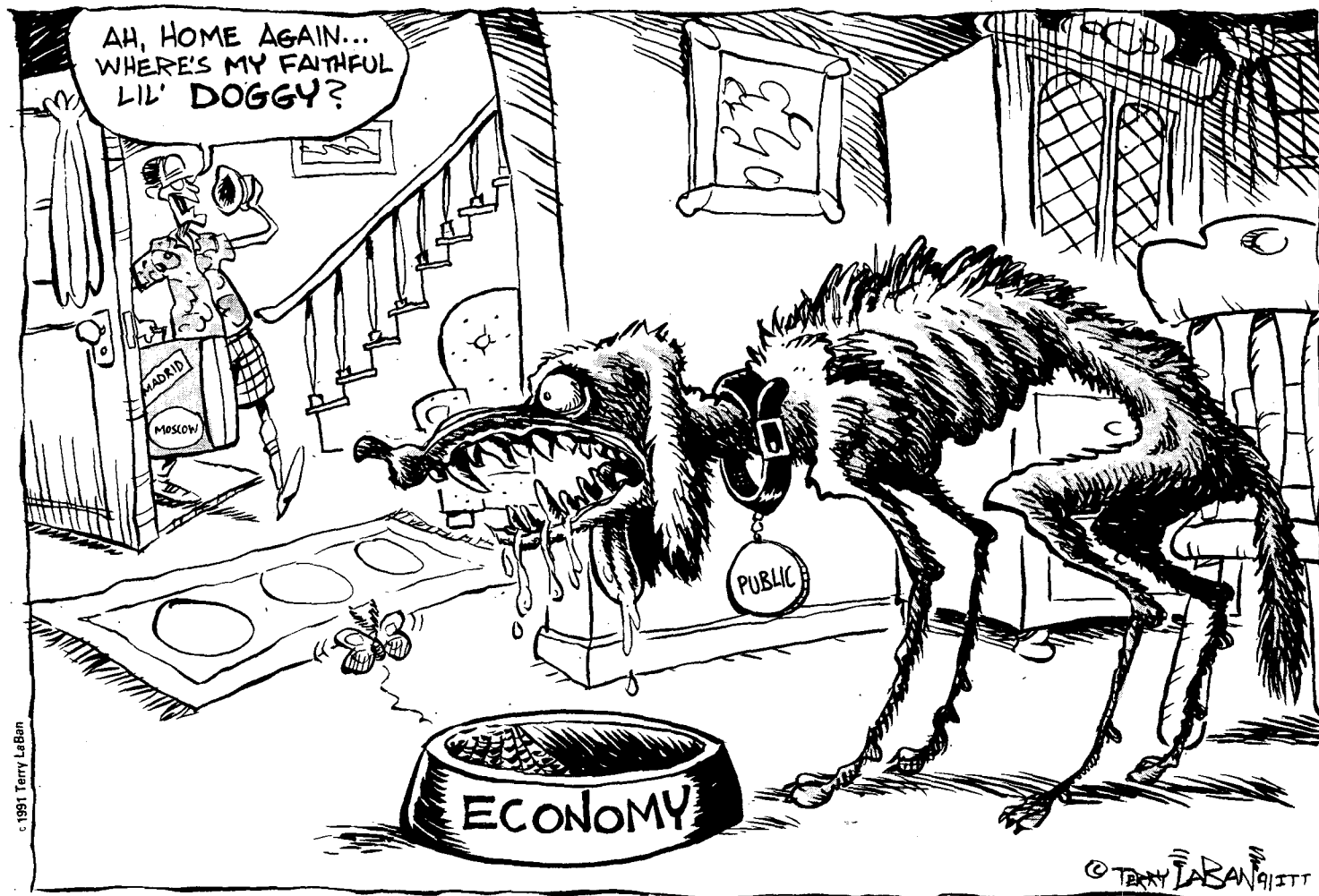
"The trouble with Berkeley," he says, choosing his words carefully, "is that people's politics are 10 miles wide and one inch deep. In some ways, that makes Berkeley the exact opposite of the more working-class communities in the Bay area, like Richmond and Oakland. In working-class communities, people aren't quite as advanced about buying hormone-free chicken, but they know exploitation when they see it." □

Jamin B. Raskin is a law professor at American University and former general counsel of the National Rainbow Coalition.



Today, health food, in cultural terms, is primarily a gourmet treat for the rich. In economic terms, it's no longer the nourishment of the counterculture but one more big business for Big Business.

EDITORIAL



The Wofford victory and a prediction for 1992

Harris Wofford's smashing defeat of former U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh in the Pennsylvania Senate race last week should have been no surprise to readers of *In These Times*. Wofford won because he did what we have been arguing for throughout the Bush presidency. He seized the initiative, set the agenda and challenged the administration on a major social policy issue—in this case national health insurance.

Thornburgh had been a heavy favorite only weeks before the election. Not only was he a two-term former governor and a Bush administration insider—he boasted about having “walked the corridors of power”—but he also had a campaign treasury that dwarfed Wofford's. Administration support was heavy. Bush, Dan Quayle, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp and White House Chief of Staff John Sununu all took part in the campaign, as did Secretary of Health Louis Sullivan.

Copying his mentors, Thornburgh attacked Wofford as “a tax-and-spend liberal” whose talk about national health insurance was “communitistic.” Thornburgh acknowledged that health care will be an important issue for the '90s, but he thought it more politic to attack Wofford as a big spender, and to shed tears for taxpayers rather than for those worried about medical costs. “One banner I will hold high,” he said, “is care for the taxpayers' dollars.”

Unfazed, Wofford didn't bother to answer a snide Thornburgh query about how he would pay for his “compassion.” Instead, he pounded away at the need for a comprehensive national health care program. “If criminals have the right to a lawyer,” he said, “all Americans should have the right to a doctor.”

But even though Wofford read the voters' mood correctly, the issue of how to pay for a national health care system—as well as the many other needed social programs—is a real one. It was successfully avoided in this short race, but in next year's presidential campaign the question will have to be answered.

Bush plays the cost-containment game every time a pressing social need comes into view. Recently, he used this rhetoric to justify his veto of legislation that would extend unemployment insurance to the 980,000 workers who have already exhausted their six-month coverage. At a \$1,000-a-plate New Jersey Republican fundraiser in late September, for example, Bush called the Democratic legislation “a bunch of garbage.” Bush said that he had great sympathy for the unemployed, but that the \$6.4 billion compensation bill would violate last year's budget agreement. His first loyalty was not to those

out of work, he explained, but to the tens of millions of tax-paying Americans who cannot afford the burden of increased taxes.

Such talk has helped the president defeat legislation on several social issues. Never mind that the Reagan-Bush policies are responsible for shifting the tax burden from the wealthy to middle-income families. The fact remains that most voters are worried about taxes, and Bush has skillfully posed as the defender of their interests.

Yet only a few days before last week's election the potential solution to this problem was front-page news. On November 1, a Senate-House conference committee agreed on a \$291 billion military budget for 1992. Under this agreement, spending on arms next year will be reduced from the Cold War years by a mere 2 percent. Hundreds of billions of dollars will be spent on keeping American troops in Europe and Korea and on maintaining readiness to intervene in the internal affairs of Third World countries. Much of this money is simply wasted, even from the point of view of those who believe the United States should be the world policeman. Much more is being used to back up a policy that most Americans do not support.

Obviously, the money now being squandered, or misspent, on the military could pay whatever costs are involved in a national health care system. It could also provide insurance for workers for the full period of their unemployment. Some of it could even go to reduce this year's record budget deficit, created in large part by the S&L bailouts.

All of this is obvious to anyone who takes the time to think about it. It's a solution straining to break into the light of day. Given the results of the Pennsylvania election, the mounting pressure for increased unemployment coverage and other pressing needs, it seems inevitable that the public will make this connection. Any Democrat who understands the deep voter desire for positive change in public policy—and a basic reorientation of federal budget priorities needed to achieve that change—will be hard to beat in 1992.

We still need your help

A few weeks ago, we appealed to our readers for \$120,000 in order for us to get through the rest of this year and to pay off some of our back debt to freelance writers. So far the response has been heartening but inadequate. We've taken in some \$35,000, from about 700 individual donors. We need at least three times that amount.

So, once again, we throw ourselves at your mercy. If you want *In These Times* to continue playing a vital role in these exciting times, please send in a contribution today. Sit down now. Write out a check. Mail it to: *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60647.

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(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100

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This issue (Vol. 16, No. 1) published Nov. 13, 1991, for newsstand sales Nov. 13-19, 1991.

LETTERS

Internationalism revisited

DANIEL LAZARE TREADS ON THE VERGE OF THE ridiculous (*JTT*, Oct. 2) when he compares the inevitable nationalistic actionism in the Second World with the "liberal nationalism" of "certain socialists-turned-protectionists" (lay off Judis—Christ's sake, we're all frail humans) in the U.S. And even more importantly, he basically fails to examine his own "answer" to nationalism—internationalism. For nation-states are already losing power in a world increasingly dominated by international trade and global communications.

There lies the very problem with an abstract idea of internationalism, as it has been usually interpreted since Woodrow Wilson's call for a League of Nations. The Bush administration's and the media's interpretation of a New World Order, as well as David Moberg's call for a New Marshall Plan (*JTT*, Sept. 11), overtly echo the call for an internationalism based upon an increased democratic base and the common advantages that might be maintained by civil agreements between sovereign governments.

However, for such an internationalism to be effective, one must still have democratically maintained sovereign nation-states. But I believe that this emerging New World Order is not so much a cliché for governmental internationalism than a euphemism for an emerging multinational corporate state that ultimately will not be answerable to anybody but large shareholders, corporate executives and international bankers. Economic factors are increasingly distributing the real power in our world from governments to the next hierarchical level of collective organization, corporations that are generally multinational in scope. Multinationals are being given this power by government leaders who are pressing for an unbridled capitalism, as codified by the rash of potential free-trade agreements (such as the Uruguay round of the GATT talks and those for common American markets.)

A tempered nationalism may be somewhat of an antidote for such dangerous internationalist trends that are hardly controllable by an organization such as the United Nations. Look at the damage that has already been done by bodies such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in financing projects that have destroyed much of the rain forests and put countless governments in debt. And since the U.S. has become the world's largest debt-or nation, one had better be cautious in handing over our fate to a group of profiteers. Unfortunately, when even well-versed progressives fall into this trap, one must expect that this will precisely be their fate—bent over in some service position.

Sean Sheeter
San Marcos, Calif.

Simple

THE SIMPLEST WAY TO "REFORM" OUR WAY OF making federal judicial appointments is to require a three-quarters or two-thirds vote of ratification by the Senate. The pres-



ent system worked only so long as presidents acted as statesmen and played fair.

It took a small man in a big job making cynical use of the system to demonstrate its inherent imbalance and unconstitutionality. Allowing a simple majority vote of affirmation gives the swing vote in a tie to the president's man, the vice president, making a mockery of "consent" and separation of powers.

Just the possibility that this can happen in the current process is enough to nullify the appointment to the highest court of a man who judges it equitable for business to fire older workers to save money, never discussed *Roe vs. Wade*, attends a fundamentalist church, didn't excuse himself from deliberating a case favoring his Senate sponsor's family, probably treated Anita Hill with cruelty indicative of contempt for women, and has scorn for welfare recipients and persons who haven't mastered, as he has, the fine art of pulling oneself up by the bootstraps of others.

Mary Roy
Amherst, N.H.

Co-conspirators?

THE DEMOCRATS ... AGAIN ... WERE OUTMANEUVERED by the ruthless infighters of the [Bush] administration," quoth *In These Times* (Oct. 23), buying into the myth of timid Democrats coerced and coopted by aggressive Republicans.

Let's take a closer look at this picture. These Democrats were the birds who ratified Ronald Reagan's restructuring of the income tax in favor of the already rich. They agreed to the abandonment of banking and environmental regulation and to the suspension of enforcement of civil rights laws. They overlooked and protected the dirtiest

covert actions worldwide. They "reluctantly" participated in the destruction of Nicaragua and Grenada. They resolutely ignored the sainted Henry B. Gonzalez' resolution of impeachment of Ronald Reagan (granted, it was the House in this case).

Let's, moreover, not forget the Democrats' role in selecting the rest of the reactionary yoyos who are the lame-brain majority comprising the present Supreme Court.

Do these guys sound more like a bunch of cream-puff patsy dupes or more like unindicted co-conspirators, I ask you? Or maybe you should ask the folks they've stomped to achieve their current (unexercised) power.

Robert C. Sommer
New York

New political culture

IT'S GOOD TO SEE ROBERT ROSS PONDERING THE future of socialism ("Viewpoint," Oct. 23). He is right in calling the historic watershed of the past two years a spiritual crisis. Democratic socialism is more than a political movement. For three or (as in my own family) four generations, it has been the moral compass of efforts toward social change. Now it lies in intellectual as well as political ruin.

In my view, however, Ross fails to see the true depth of the crisis. Socialism, even in its "Christian" form, has been rooted in the rationalist materialism of the 18th century, with its view of economics as destiny. Like capitalism, socialism celebrates the productivity of large-scale organization, of specialization, exchange and technology. Both ideologies are oriented toward unrestrained growth. They view labor, human services and nature as commodities. In short, both are an expression of industrial society. The main difference is in how they would distribute its rewards.

Ross takes no cognizance of the changing

relationship to nature forced on us by 20th-century science nor of the environmental crisis that confronts us. The stark fact of the 1990s is that the industrial age we have known is over. Neither socialism nor capitalism is prepared to face that. If the cutting edge of social change is to be found anywhere today, it is among the Greens and with thinkers such as the Peruvian economist Alfredo Lopez de Romana, who advocates a balance between monetary economy and an informal ("vernacular") economy of barter and production for use.

How to get from here to there? On that question Ross' pessimism seems justified. Even his final expression of faith in "the people" sounds like a cop-out. But perhaps one can take some hope in the observation of Samuel Johnson, who noted that knowledge of being hanged tomorrow has a wonderfully concentrating effect on a man's mind. If the disasters foreseen by Worldwatch and others begin to assume some reality, concentration may occur collectively.

Moreover, it has often been observed that when an idea reaches universal acceptance, the chances are that it has already been superseded. Capitalism now seems at a worldwide peak of invincibility, but.... In the meantime, someone needs to be laying out new social directions, testing alternative systems and building a wholly new political culture.

Rhoda R. Gilman
St. Paul, Minn.

Sexual harassment

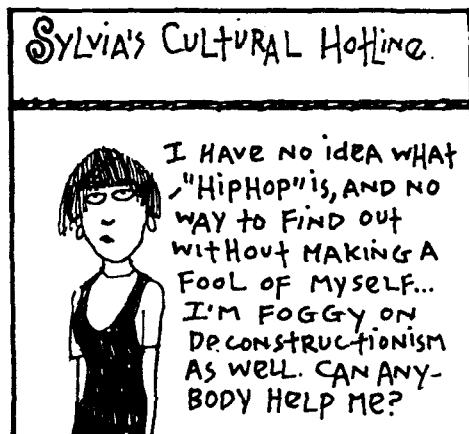
I NEED TO CORRECT A MISTAKE IN DAVID MOBERG'S very interesting article on sexual harassment and union organizing.

Sexual harassment is a problem for women in many unions, as it is in all kinds of organizations. But my own experiences with sexual harassment were years ago, not current. I am older and more confident now and would not put up with sexual harassment under any circumstances. And my union, Service Employees International Union (SEIU), takes sexual harassment seriously and has a written policy prohibiting it.

Karen Nussbaum
President, District 925, SEIU
Cleveland, Ohio 44113

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

Polish elections and Yeltsin's plan

"I appeal to all citizens of Russia to understand that a one-shot change to market-controlled prices is a dire, compulsory but inescapable step." President Boris Yeltsin went on to tell his fellow Russians on October 28 that his emergency economic program would in the short term bring hard times, unemployment and a plunge in living standards, until "by the fall of 1992...the economy will begin to stabilize, and life will gradually begin to improve."

A few days before Yeltsin's apocalyptic advisory, another president made a rueful confession to his people. "We have listened to the West," Lech Walesa told the Poles, "and we made too big a leap."

Walesa's confession came on the eve of Poland's first fully democratic elections since 1947, and Polish voters gave their verdict of the economic reforms of the past two years. Many expressed their opinion by simply not bothering to go to the polls. The party of Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, the prime minister picked by Walesa to supervise the transition to a capitalist economy, performed dismally, coming in seventh. The former Communists—now called Social Democracy of the Republic—did surprisingly well. With their allies in the Peasant Party, they took a joint share of 21 percent of the vote.

Yeltsin should have studied the Polish election results before announcing his crash program of economic conversion. It is not so long since speeches identical in

substance to his Monday address were being delivered in Poland. There too the apostles of drastic economic surgery proclaimed that there would be unpalatable shock, a drop in living standards, before the new dawn.

Today Warsaw is by all accounts a cheerier place. The buses are painted pink and neon advertisements enliven the cityscape. But for most Poles the new dawn has not arrived. The cost of living has soared and millions have lost their jobs. There are a few new rich and a lot of new poor.

Worse still, there is no conspicuous glimmer of hope on the horizon, as the old economic structure is dismembered. The advice of the Western economists is falling on increasingly resentful ears. Jacek Rostowski, an economist from the University of London, calls blithely for "four to five years of 50 percent unemployment in some [Polish] towns," to which Poles on the receiving end of the great experiment respond, as many of them did last Sunday in the polling booths, that the old system doesn't look so bad.

Against the bleak realities of "crash therapy" in Poland, Boris Yeltsin's program looks bizarre to the point of criminal irresponsibility. Land will be privatized, state institutions shorn of their budgets, everything tossed into the magic cauldron known as market freedom. The misfortunes of Poland will be repeated on a gigantic scale

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn

with far more traumatic social consequences. Poland is at least ethnically united. Such is not the case in the Russian Republic and economic hard times will quickly translate into nationalist strife.

There is no greater testimony to the failures of the Soviet Revolution of 1917 than the folly of the Muscovite intelligentsia urging the sorts of "reforms" now espoused by the populist demagogue Yeltsin who insisted, it should be noted, that time and crisis do not permit Russians the luxury of any democratic review of his economic

In Warsaw, the buses are painted pink and neon advertisements enliven the cityscape. But for most Poles the new dawn has not arrived. There are few new rich and a lot of new poor.

putsch. Walesa also criticizes Poland's voting as "excessively democratic."

This intelligentsia takes as its premise the notion that capitalism can arise by spontaneous combustion, whereas all historical experience shows that nothing could

be further from the truth. To build capitalism you need the guidance and constant intervention of a state, such as the one Yeltsin now proposes to disintegrate.

The follies of the Russian intellectuals are nourished by mainstream Western economists who similarly preach a phenomenon unknown in the world outside their classrooms, namely that there is such a thing as a "free market" which by itself can generate appropriate output, prices and income.

Earlier this year Professor Gaspar Tamas, a member of the Hungarian Diet, published a dry comment in the English weekly *The Spectator*. After noting that in earlier times Western socialists made fools of themselves in "faith-trips" to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, Tamas noted that now "political pilgrims of the right" are similarly voyaging from the West, thinking that "at last they have found people who do not grumble and who can demonstrate to Western doubters that the fundamental tenets of their world view are worth believing in."

Now the combination of Western advisers such as Professor Jeffrey Sachs of Harvard and local mystics of the free market promises to bring devastation to the Russian Republic. The West could conceivably bail out Poland—and, given its stake in the great experiment, it may well do so—but such salvage for Russia will be far beyond the West's means. Then amid the carnage the pipe dreams of the "free-market" gurus will meet the bitter sanction of reality, though they will not be the ones to pay the price.

Distributed by Alexander Cockburn

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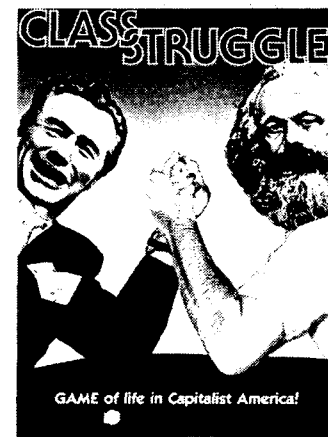
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Who, me?

By Craig B. Hulet

ANOTHER WOLF? THIS IS THE QUESTION Joel Bleifuss asks ("First Stone," Oct. 2) when introducing me, Craig B. Hulet, in his column. You see, I came out against the Persian Gulf War as early as August 4. I did some 300 radio interviews all over the nation since that date. I was considered by most "a true expert on the Persian Gulf crisis." I explained to audiences throughout the U.S. and even foreign countries that the primary objectives in the Gulf by the Bush administration were varied and rightly complex.

The first objective, as outlined in a policy by Garrett Fitzgerald at a White House conference in April, was to use the U.N. Security Council apparatus to disarm first Iraq, then the entire Middle East. The second main objective was to force a peace conference on the Arab states and Israel. Saddam Hussein would not unilaterally disarm when asked by Sen. Bob Dole (R-KS) that same April, according to Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz. Thus the need for our State Department, with the able aid of April Glaspie, to lure Hussein into taking Kuwait, with U.S. tacit approval to do nothing, as it was an "Arab-to-Arab issue." This was the reason and objectives for the Gulf War. In fact, it was specifically chemical, biological, potential nuclear, as well as conventional weapons

capability that Fitzgerald called for to be removed from Iraq by using the U.N. Security Council. Those objectives are all now the U.N. objectives.

In my white paper on the Middle East (three volumes and 600 pages), I also demonstrated that the NATO force reductions called for by the White House would necessarily bring on the need for another "permanent security arrangement" to relocate personnel and equipment. I stated that that place would be in the Middle East, provided Saddam Hussein lived and could be made to look like a credible threat in the region. I was introduced by KFI, Los Angeles, host Bill Handel as "the only U.S.-based analyst correctly to predict every move by both Bush and Hussein ... the rise of Arafat, the moves by Libya, and all of the above."

I am not a prophet, nor a good guesser. I know my job, that is all. What guaranteed that the Western alliance would wage such a ruthless war for empire? Only then did Al Sabah's financial holdings (coupled with the Saudi family) come into the equation. Bush recently placed Kuwaiti foreign direct investments in the U.S. at \$100 billion—not counting off-shore liquid assets in Panama, the Islands, etc. This was the glue that held the coalition forces together. Every prediction I made came true. I am on the record at more than 200 radio stations and on tape.

I was warned by John Sununu through a retired general I had been in contact with that the White House could push back. I

was pushing Bush pretty hard, was the suggestion. Now, some months after the war, there is a small coterie of far-flung leftists trying to discredit my work by calling me names. It seems these few think I became a "West Coast celebrity" because I did a couple of interviews on KPFA and KPFK. Less than 10 percent of my work during the war was on anything like progressive radio—so called. Commercial stations and hosts interviewed me ongoing, often every week for months.

But herein lies the reason for the ugly and totally false allegations leveled at me. You see, the left "doesn't know where he came from"—their words, not mine. "Who is he?"—their words, not mine. And therefore, since none of the "official" leftists could answer the questions, more important questions than the correctness of my analysis, I must have been sent by some far-right clandestine John Birch Society or Liberty Lobby types "to dupe and confuse the left?" To call this left-wing paranoia is just not to say it well at all.

The purveyor of this nonsense is none other than John F. Berlet—who writes these kinds of attacks about everyone speaking out against Bush. He writes under the alias Chip Berlet. I have a media name: KC de Pass for the Seattle area when I do TV and radio; I cannot guess why John uses an alias. Except that virtually every single line he and his network of followers, and I do mean "follow," have not written or spoken one

word of truth about me or my work. In fact, I have just produced an enormous white paper to refute the lies line by line. The paper contains some 200 pages of documents alone. One exhibit for each sentence that contained a lie and or distortion. Thus, the size alone tells you there is little truth in John's or Sara's or Richard's letters and material (taken as true by the unthinking journalists who quote them). Indeed, the only thing they did get correct was the spelling of my name, and they had help with that.

As far as Sara and Dick calling their work about me an "investigative report," I would sue, but all I could get is a couple of pairs of sandals and a worn-out backpack. I do not wear the uniform so I don't feel the urge. Yet, if I do not stop these kinds of attacks, others will be treated as badly.

Anyway, the rumor mill and ugly lies in print can only serve to give me a larger turnout at my next lecture. It is only necessary to get my name right.

A final thought: are all those on the progressive left that stupid? Does the left need a thought police so the poor dumb progressives don't get lulled into one day waking up and finding themselves staggering down the street looking aimlessly for an army surplus store, joining the NRA but not aware of it until they pull out their library card, and...there it is, a membership card! Maybe the left is that stupid where Chip, Sara and Dick play, but I did not find it to be so where I worked with the left.

Yes, you

By Joel Bleifuss

WHAT CAN I SAY? SUNUNU MADE ME DO IT! Maybe I should admit that my strings are being pulled by Hulet's former colleagues in the National Security Council where he claims to have worked for three unspecified years in the "domestic" operations department.

But my best option is to allow Hulet to speak for himself and let our readers judge who's a wolf.

On July 11 Hulet told an audience in Santa Cruz about his work with the National Security Council. In explaining his interpretation of world events, he said: "And this goes back to a theory—which I think is a true theory—and it was told to me that it was quite true for the three years that I worked for the group [National Security Council], that only 5,000 white American males run the U.S. and have any power whatever. Anybody else who looks [like] they are part of the system are just pencil pushers for the other 5,000, no matter how powerful you may think those people are. If you're not locked into something like the Bohemian Grove, Skull and Bones, Wolf's Head, some of the other fraternities at Yale, Columbia, Princeton [and] Harvard—if you're not locked into this system, and I do call it what they call it, I don't call it that because I'm a radical, they refer to it as the group, as a brotherhood—and if you're not part of it, you're not a player, period. You're simply a useful idiot that gets used."

Hulet's remarks get curiouser and curiouser. Apparently there is real skulduggery going on. In regards to the "CIA-Yale" connection he maintains that "all of the individuals surrounding the Kennedy assassina-

tion belonged to a Yale fraternity called Skull and Bones."

And should this social club cabal mess with him, it had better watch out. On July 10, in San Francisco, he explained that anyone out to get him would first have to deal with the men who guard his mail drop: "I have a drop box run by Libyans, a great bunch of guys. They're my security when I do public speaking lectures in that redneck country. So when you go looking for me as KC dePass in Seattle, you're not going to find KC dePass. You're going to find a six-foot-six, 240 pound Libyan, that all he says, when you say, 'I'd like to speak to Mr. KC dePass,' he goes, 'Put in box.' And there's always like six or eight Muslims sitting in the back room talking to him. So, like you come looking for me, you're gonna find a little army there."

I wish I could treat readers to the text of his talk sponsored by the Anglo-European Fellowship in Los Angeles on October 18, 1986. But no one I know was in attendance. According to the advertisement in the Liberty Lobby newsweekly *Spotlight*, the title of the seminar was "Can the struggle for the world be won?" Apparently, the program offered the "unique opportunity to hear some of the best authorities on the political, economic and moral problems facing not only the United States but Western Civilization." Joining Hulet on the podium were a collection of racists and anti-Semites including David Irving, a historical revisionist who maintains that the Holocaust never occurred.

Readers who would like a further taste of Hulet's theories should call Pacifica Archives in California, where for \$50 you can obtain tapes of four interviews with Hulet done by Pacifica talk show hosts.

And that raises the question of why Pacifica network stations are providing

Hulet airtime. David Salniker, executive director of Pacifica, says, "There is no specific policy on archival distribution, but there is general Pacifica programming policy which essentially promotes freedom of expression. The clear limit on ourselves is we try not to disseminate programming which disparages people or cultures because of their race or sexual preferences. We don't screen people because of their political beliefs."

Martin Lee of the liberal media-watch group FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting) has recently exposed posers like Hulet on the *Undercurrents* program, that runs on New York Pacifica station WBAL. Lee had this to say on the controversy: "At stake here is journalistic integrity. FAIR often criticizes mainstream journalists for misrepresenting who their sources and experts are or presenting these experts without appropriate context and information.

So it is disturbing that a radio network like Pacifica and its affiliates would lend credibility to right-wing kooks without indicating in an appropriate fashion who they really are. I am not suggesting that certain people should be censored or banned from any radio station. [But] people listening to Pacifica have a right to know who they are listening to. Unfortunately in a number of instances Pacifica has failed to inform the public of the political association of far rightists who are seeking to pass themselves off as authentic critics of capitalism or U.S. imperialism."

Bay area readers who want to hear more on the subject should tune into a KPFA debate between Hulet and Sara Diamond, who has provided me with the above information on Hulet. The debate is scheduled for Bari Scott's show "The Secret's Out" on November 16 at 8 p.m.

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Village novels make the desert bloom

The Blue Mountain

By Meir Shalev
HarperCollins, 375 pp., \$22.95

Egyptian Earth

By Abdel Rahman al-Sharqawi
University of Texas Press
264 pp., \$12.95

By Joe O'Donovan-Lockard

THE CURRENT WAVE OF SOVIET immigrants into Israel will have a profound impact on the country's politics and culture, one whose full effect has barely begun to register. Indeed, for the first half of this century, a far smaller wave of ideologically motivated Russian immigrants nearly dominated Jewish society in Palestine, and later Israeli national politics.

Known as the Second Aliyah (immigration or, literally, "ascent"), these socialist-oriented arrivals early in the century displaced the influence of Jewish small holders (First Aliyah) who immigrated a generation previous. The Second Aliyah invented the institutions—the kibbutz movement, union-owned production cooperatives and cradle-to-grave party-linked social care—that came to typify Jewish life in Palestine.

The legacy of these early Marxist Zionists still grips and exercises the Israeli imagination, whether among ideological descendents in the Labor Party or their right-wing Likud antagonists. Yet it is often forgotten that most of these immigrants left within a few years, either exhausted,

ill, homesick or seeking better opportunities in America. Startling numbers departed through suicide.

Rippled magical realism: Meir Shalev's *The Blue Mountain* (originally titled "A Russian Novel" in Hebrew) examines this period that retains such heroic tints in national memory. Distancing himself from now-archaic earlier Hebrew authors who wrote about the Second Aliyah in a social realist vein, Shalev uses

MIDEAST

an authorial voice rippled with magical realism. His treatment is constructed equally of comic satire, scorching critique and a loving address to visionary idealism.

The story chronicles the intimately interwoven lives of the founding members, children and grandchildren of a small communal village in the Jezreel Valley, where draining malarial swamps provided the stuff of Israeli mythography. The founders live in tents and form a group marriage named the Feyge Levin Workingman's Circle. Expectant Feyge listens to women comrades read aloud from "the works of Movement theoreticians" and her child, of uncertain

Fantastic literary forms flourish in some unlikely spots.

paternity, is acclaimed as a communal accomplishment. But another woman remembers that "My commune was full of big idealists who talked a lot about equality and sharing and made the women work in the kitchen." If they did not escape the gravity of traditional roles, there was still the diversion of heated debates over whether "good morning" and "good evening" were bourgeois relics.

The village is populated by strange and wonderful characters; sacred madness runs rampant. Grandfather Mirkin extols a Marxist Zionist ideology associated with Russian theorist Ber Borochov along with the American agricultural scientism of Luther Burbank. Rilov the watchman spends most of his days in a septic tank where he secretes sufficient weapons for a division. Efrayim, his face horribly disfigured in war, disappears carrying a prize bull on his back. Meshulam, gripped by history and delusions, pursues a crazed dream of reflooding the swamps to create a tourist attraction. Village farm animals have a better idea: Zeitser, once David Ben-Gurion's own mule, spends his retirement under a fig tree reading newspapers.

Damning satire: Shalev alternates between high lyricism and religio-political mockery to describe the valley's landscape. The village teacher lectures his students that spring is when "Nature lifts high her red flags in memory of our liberation from bondage in Egypt: the poppy, the anemone, the red buttercup...."

The most damning satire issues from Mirkin's grandson, Baruch, the story's narrator. Before he retires to a seaside villa, Baruch becomes the village millionaire through his enterprise as a mortician and cemetery owner. The prestige of the pioneers has become such a commodity that elderly Jews in Miami, who once spent three weeks in the country before fleeing, pay astronomical sums for a grave site where they will bask in the founders' glory for eternity. It is a graveyard for "practical idealists and capitalist traitors." Baruch argues that the mortuary profession is a branch of agriculture, that he is engaged in returning Jews to their land and that his type of farming is vastly more profitable than the rest of the village crops.

Shalev writes from a complex understanding of the psychological expressions of social radicalism, one that enables him to both criticize and appreciate. "You were too busy acting in your great Theater of Redemption and Rebirth," one outsider accuses a village idealist years later. "Ordinary potatoes, the same *kartofelakh* you ate in Russia, became *tapuchei adama*, 'earth apples,' to show how you were one with Nature. You had your pictures taken with rifles and hoes, you talked to the toads and the mules, you dressed up as Arabs, you thought you could fly through the air."

"That's what kept us going," the idealist replies. What devices will keep the current flood of Russian immigrants going, and what will be their sources of idealism?

Hillel Halkin's translation approaches outstanding but is blemished by the occasional clumsiness of an unconsidered phrase like "pioneeress." And brief historical notes would have aided American readers.

One-way street: Abdel Rahman al Sharqawi's *Egyptian Earth*, originally published in 1954, is another village novel from the Middle East that has recently been reissued. This canonical work of modern Egyptian literature, translated by Desmond Stewart, was last in print nearly 30 years ago. The meager presence of Arabic translations on American bookshelves has been the concern of a small group of dedicated publishing houses like al-Saqi, Three Continents, Zed and a couple of university presses, to their great credit.

Though mainstream Euro-American publishers continue to ignore the richness of Arabic literature, the reverse was never the case. Arabic translations of European novels began appearing in Cairo in the 1840s and eventually influenced the form of early 20th-century Egyptian novels. Egyptian authors adapted this genre to meet expanding demands for social narrative generated by the rise of nationalism under British colonialism, their own consciousness of the

peasant condition, and the absence of a long prose form that would bear modern political weight.

Sharqawi was a product of this East-West literary relationship. As a Marxist, he was influenced by socialist realism and Soviet fiction, a tendency he ironically shared with many Israeli writers of the same period. Also, *Egyptian Earth* can be viewed in a wider global perspective as a major agrarian novel bearing a political program, much like Mikhail Sholokhov's *And Quiet Flows the Don* (alleged by some as Fyodor Kryukov's work) in the Soviet Union and John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*. Land reform lay at the heart of Nasserism and Sharqawi expressed this peasant demand in his novels.

If Sharqawi's politics earned him brickbats from Western critics such as Hilary Kirkpatrick, who accused him of imposing Marxism's "neat scheme" on the Nile, the Arab world responded with great favor to Sharqawi's ability to sketch the village as a microcosm of national class relations. Readers understood it as a firm expression of *iltizam* ("social commitment"), and during the '50s, peasant figures advanced to central place in the fictions of Sharqawi and others, notably fellow Egyptian writer Yusuf Idris. *Egyptian Earth*, which was first published in newspaper serialization, eventually became a popular film directed by Youssef Chahine.

A provincial schoolboy remembering his home village from a Cairo boarding school narrates the story, set during the Sidky government of the '30s which colluded with British imperialism. The village is tightly governed by an *omda* (headman) involved in corrupt land schemes, with protection from devious central government figures. Much of the plot centers on an attempt by the *omda* to deprive the villagers of time-honored field irrigation rights.

Sharqawi explores relations between social forces in Egypt through various village characters. Abdul Hamdi, an epitomized figure of peasant strength, leads the village opposition. Sheikh Shinawi, the village *mufti*, counsels compliance with authority. Minor landholders scheme to become the new *omda*; local social climbers jostle for position and a bit more income. Sergeant Abdallah, head of a police detachment brought to suppress the village, finds more justice in the peasants' cause than the government he serves. In the memorable character of Waseefa, a beautiful village woman, Sharqawi continues the practice of inscribing woman as nation, one that Egyptians authors once used for veiled attacks on British colonialism. *Egyptian Earth* deserves renewed attention as a compelling contribution to international literature. ■

Joe O'Donovan-Lockard is a writer living in Jerusalem.

Cold Warrior: James Jesus Angleton, the CIA's Master Spy Hunter

By Tom Mangold
Simon and Schuster
462 pp., \$24.95

By Steve Badrich

THE CIA WOULD RATHER YOU didn't read British journalist Tom Mangold's book on the late James Angleton, for 20 years their spycatcher-in-chief. Their cup runneth over already. The recent confirmation hearings for CIA Director Robert Gates replayed half the things the CIA has missed or gotten wrong in recent years: Gorbachov's significance, those (non-existent) Soviet space-lasers, Soviet "influence" in Iran, the "KGB" plot against the pope—it wouldn't quit.

Before these hearings, there was the surprise Soviet coup attempt; before the coup, there was Saddam's surprise invasion of Kuwait. The last thing the CIA needs right now is Mangold's definitive demonstration that their legendary Angleton was stone crazy—lost in the funhouse of his own destructive paranoia.

But "definitive" it is. Angleton's plunging star left in its wake a trail of loyal but badly burned CIA veterans. More than 200 of them talked to Mangold, senior correspondent for the BBC's respected *Panorama*, or to his indefatigable Washington-based researcher, Jeff Goldberg. These depositions shred the wizard's persona Angleton affected for decades: the cadaverous, all-knowing T.S. Eliot lookalike, haunting subtropical Washington in his heavy wool suits from Savile Row. The Angleton character in *Harlot's Ghost*, Norman Mailer's just-published 1,280-page CIA novel, is probably this legend's final avatar.

Still, Mangold's disabused account of Angleton's career is fascinating and important. In this year of the Gates hearings and the CIA's post-Cold War identity crisis, it illuminates the agency's workings like a magnesium flare.

Angleton first made his mark in London with the Office of Strategic Services, the CIA's wartime predecessor. (A confirmed Anglophile, he never let it slip that his mother was Mexican and his middle name Jesus.) In 1945, his obsessive counterintelligence work earned him a promotion to Italy. When peace came, the only thing that changed for Angleton was the identity of the enemy.

A developing pattern: Mangold doesn't dilate on post-war U.S. intelligence activities in Italy. But it's worth noting that Angleton prodigally spent CIA and Wall Street slush-fund money to influence the Italian elections of 1948. The CIA feared Italy's Communists would parlay their anti-fascism into electoral success. They didn't, and Angleton's illegal operation set the pattern for the interventionist CIA of the Cold War decades—right down to the cash infusions that helped elect Nicaragua's Violeta Chamorro in 1990.



Mole hunting and wild goose chasing

These post-war years also prepared Angleton's undoing. Back in Washington, he oversaw CIA attempts to crank up Contra-style resistance movements in newly-Communist Eastern Europe. Invariably, his infiltrators wound up captured, or dead—often disappearing without a trace. Angleton's task was inherently difficult. His target populations were exhausted, and Albania's exiled King Zog, for one, was no Charles de Gaulle. But Angleton rightly suspected another hand in the game.

He remembered how Bolshevik counterintelligence wizard Felix Dzerzhinski had penetrated Russian émigré groups in Europe after 1917. Through his "moles" (to use a later term for agents burrowing within the other side's operations), Dzerzhinski had suckered the West into believing that the Bolsheviks were on the ropes and that an anti-Bolshevik directorate called "the Trust" was about to assume state power. Emigré figures who re-entered Russia to assume leadership of "the Trust" found out otherwise, too late. His own operation, Angleton recognized, was mole-infested.

Defects and defections: He unburdened himself at frequent four-martini lunches with British intelligence liaison Kim Philby, a real-life version of Angleton's bogus stage-Englishman persona. When Philby

himself fell under suspicion after the defection to Moscow of his friends Burgess and Maclean in 1951, Angleton brushed off suggestions that his alter ego might be a Soviet mole. He stuck to this view after he took over the CIA's newly created counterintelligence staff in 1954—stuck to it, in fact, until Philby defected to Moscow in 1963 to become the century's most famous spy.

Philby's defection left a legion of dead spies on Angleton's conscience and made him look like a fool. Suspicious both by nature and by the requirements of his job, Angleton began to succumb to the occupational hazard of the counterspy: paranoia. He began to sense moles everywhere. Every chance turn of events, and eventually post-war history itself, became the ploy of a diabolical new version of "the Trust"—with Philby (by now a burnt-out case living in Moscow) as the new Dzerzhinski.

The core of Mangold's book is a carefully-documented, case-by-case review of the "mole-hunts" Angleton conducted over the 10 years following Philby's departure. These hunts trashed CIA relations with various allied intelligence services, ruined the careers (or lives) of loyal intelligence officers and threw away legitimate defectors on suspicion that they were provocateurs—returning

at least a couple of them to the tender mercies of the KGB. In the process, Angleton destroyed morale within the CIA's crucial Soviet branch and

CIA

reduced his own counterintelligence operation to paralysis, all without catching a mole.

Angleton's chief collaborator in this process was a rum character named Anatoly Golitsyn, an unprepossessing lower-echelon former KGB officer who defected in 1961. (On arrival, Golitsyn had been diagnosed as "clinically paranoid" and "suffering from a form of megalomania.")

Angleton's plunging star left a trail of badly burned CIA veterans.

To hold CIA interest, Golitsyn began making broad-brush McCarthy-like charges about KGB penetrations of Western intelligence services. He referred knowingly to a grandiose, deceptive KGB "master plan." To hear Golitsyn tell it, even the Sino-Soviet split was a mirage generated by KGB disinformation.

KGB-burned already, Angleton fell

under the mental sway of the satanically confident, English-speaking Golitsyn. Early on, he violated a cardinal rule of his profession by allowing Golitsyn access to CIA files. With additional grist for his mill, Golitsyn ground out additional charges. British Labour politician Harold Wilson, Golitsyn decided, was a Soviet mole. (This mistaken charge would reverberate in England for years.) Henry Kissinger was suspect. The mole within the CIA—in a touch Golitsyn might almost have borrowed from Kafka—must be named "K-something."

Messiah complex: Gradually Angleton abandoned the grungy, plebeian world of real counterespionage: recruiting and running agents and sifting through their take. Instead, he spent "thousands of hours" hunkered down in his bunker-like CIA office (kept in semi-darkness and lined with huge safes and vaults) over records of 50-year-old Soviet intelligence operations. He recruited a like-minded circle Mangold calls "intelligence fundamentalists," in honor of their belief that the Soviet Union was unchanged since Dzerzhinski's day. The fundamentalists shared Golitsyn's messianic conviction that false defectors would be sent to discredit him. So when real defectors started showing up in the mid-'60s, they walked straight into trouble.

The ablest was Yuri Nosenko, a well-informed, upper-echelon KGB officer who defected in 1964. Unluckily, Nosenko's welcoming committee consisted of Angleton fundamentalists, who discreetly sized him up as the false prophet Golitsyn had foretold. When Nosenko mentioned that he'd seen a scanty KGB file on the suddenly-famous Lee Harvey Oswald, Angleton's blood ran cold. If Nosenko claimed the KGB hadn't paid much attention to Oswald, might not the reverse be true? Had the KGB taken out a contract on JFK?

To find out, Angleton had Nosenko sent to "The Farm," the CIA's training facility at Camp Peary, Va. Here, CIA bully boys spent more than two years trying to break Nosenko with a variety of psychological and physical pressures that amounted to torture. Nosenko was confined to a miniature prison built especially for him and was apparently given LSD. (The CIA was busy promoting LSD from a chem-lab curiosity into an American folkway.) Incredibly, Nosenko didn't crack. His case came to divide Angleton's allies from the growing body of his in-house detractors.

By the early '70s, Angleton was finally running out his string. Like other establishment institutions, the CIA was being buffeted by successive shock waves emanating from Vietnam and Watergate. Congress, the CIA's nominal boss, was stirred from its sleep by the sound of skeletons clattering out of the CIA's hall closet. Newly-appointed CIA Director William Colby didn't want any guff from Angleton, whom he considered a

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cobweb-spinner and a fantasist.

In late 1974, Colby heard from reporter Seymour Hersh that the *New York Times* was breaking a story about illegal CIA domestic operations run by Angleton. One of them was the defunct, misbegotten Operation CHAOS, which had computer-indexed the names of 300,000 U.S. citizens in an attempt to prove that domestic dissent was being orchestrated from Moscow. According to Mangold, Colby summoned Angleton out of his crepuscular office to inform him: "You will now leave, period."

Angleton did. Colby called in CIA safecrackers, only to find that Angleton's vaults mostly contained meaningless trash and curiosa—including 40 separate studies of Dzerzhinski's "Trust." But Colby's cracksmen also found a trove of previously unknown counterintelligence leads that Angleton had never shown to anyone. A single slim file on a Soviet source, code-named NICK NACK, whom Angleton had dismissed as a "provocation," eventually yielded 20 leads on Soviet spies in the West—every one of which proved significant.

While still alive, Angleton passed into history. Internal CIA reviews exonerated his suspects and damned Angleton personally for a decade of counterintelligence failures. Angle-

ton himself, ravaged by alcohol and nicotine and with flyaway ears, was hauled up before the hot lights of the Senate's Church Committee in 1975. Angleton refused to recant—about anything. He may well have gone to his death in 1987 still believing that he had been the victim of Kim Philby's deepest game. At his memorial service, the poet Reed Whittemore, Angleton's Yale roommate, read from T.S. Eliot's "East Coker": "The world becomes stranger, the pattern more complicated..."

Gates, the fundamentalist: Mangold tells this horrific story with scrupulousness and detachment and leaves it to his readers to draw their own conclusions. But detachment may not come easily to American readers, for whom this story isn't over; Angleton's "fundamentalists" are back, and Robert Gates is one of them.

This fact has been obscured by the press, which has simplified internal CIA politics into a contest pitting antiquated zealots like the late William Casey against gray-on-gray techie analysts like Gates. This is wrong on a number of counts. To begin with, the gang that has been running the CIA since 1980, Gates included, are zealots by anybody's standards. William Casey, who managed Reagan's shady presidential

campaign before being appointed CIA director, was as big a freak-for-Dzerzhinski's "Trust" as Angleton had ever been. Joseph Persico's biography of Casey makes this clear.

Casey appointed Gates as his executive assistant because he knew that Gates was in sympathy with the Reaganites' "Soviet terror network" brouhaha of the early '80s—classic fundamentalist paranoia with a few

The press has simplified internal CIA politics into a contest pitting antiquated zealots against gray-on-gray techie analysts like Gates.

new bells and whistles. Gates is nominally an "analyst." The hearings have provided abundant evidence that he is also a ferocious careerist. But the available paper trail strongly suggests that Gates' personal vision of the world would not have made Golitsyn blush.

Gates' portentous yet wooden speech to the Commonwealth Club of California on Nov. 26, 1986, is almost a parody version of fundamen-

talist thinking. The Soviets, Gates told his fat-cat audience, covet Middle Eastern oil, the Panama Canal and South African "mineral wealth." But most of all, they want to undermine our fundamental values at home. (One almost expects Gates to start in, like that general in *Dr. Strangelove*, about our "precious bodily fluids.") Gates' conclusion is: Reagan's Cold War II is a good thing.

And Gates is no aberration; in a sense, neither was Angleton. For if a vast, secret intelligence bureaucracy is dependent for its very existence on a threat represented by the Other, then how reliable is its intelligence about that Other likely to be, over time? Tim Weiner's recent *Blank Check* explains where all those inflated estimates of Soviet military strength came from in the first place; in a culture of paranoia and no-bid contracts, the analysts' estimates could only ratchet up, never come down. Anyone who persistently (and correctly) low-balled the Soviets wound up out of the loop.

And then there's the added warp factor of ideological passion, which Mangold may underestimate. Bill Colby, the nuts-and-bolts operations guy, did treat Angleton's interest in "the Trust" with derision. But Colby didn't see the absurdity—never mind the horror—of assassinating 20,000 Vietnamese civilians in the

Phoenix Program, which Colby defends to this day.

And yet this sickening program was a bonehead mistake, as well as a sin. Streetcorner logic will tell you that you don't win hearts and minds by shooting people's sons and husbands. And sisters. But streetcorner logic is available everywhere, and it comes too cheap for the spooks to realize it's worth anything.

Gates' interrogators shouldn't imagine that the Grail of "objective intelligence," if it exists, can be found by just anyone. It's certainly not available to ill-made knights such as Angleton and Gates and Ollie North, who think their quest must begin by suppressing the preconditions of public truth, "glasnost" and democracy. In the meantime, the Senate ought to listen harder to Sen. Patrick Daniel Moynihan's (D-NY) proposal to shut down the CIA and spin off its functions to the State Department and the military.

There are risks, of course. For example, someone might want to take the money we'd save and spend it on the commonweal. ■

Steve Badrich is a writer and journalist. He also serves as a director of the non-profit Public Information Research, Inc. (Box 5199, Arlington, VA 22205), which maintains a 54,000-name microcomputer index on intelligence issues and parapolitics.

IN THE ARTS

Billy Bragg's strum und drang

Don't Try This at Home

Billy Bragg
Elektra

By Mark G. Judge

TOLD MY EDITOR AT *IN THESE TIMES* that I wasn't going to review the new Billy Bragg album, and he wholeheartedly agreed. Who's left, we rationally reasoned, who doesn't know what Billy's bag is? The socialist singer from England has been around for 10 years, released some nine albums, fights for progressive causes, was inspired by the Clash and Phil Ochs, etc., etc., etc. Bill's PCness is old socks.

Well...bollocks, as Bill would say. It's time to swallow our feet and doff our caps, for Mr. Bragg has come up with a corker of a disc. *Don't Try This at Home* is as fine an album—actually, with 16 tracks it's as fine a double album—as you're likely to find by anyone in pop, regardless of their politics. (In fact, politics has little if anything to do with it—"We've been up all night moving the goalposts," Bragg sniggers to his bed-mate on one track, and it's easy to forget you're listening to the man who brandished a "Lick Bush" sticker on his guitar in 1988.)

"I've always been impressed with a girl/ Who can sing for her supper and get breakfast as well," Bill barks

over his trademark washboard-guitar jangle and a hook that drops like an anvil in "Accident Waiting to Happen," the opening salvo. For a lefty darling like Bragg, it's a shocking, defiant send-off—he's a man with urges and desires, and the PC police can bugger off—and this time he really does sound like it's do or die. Soon he's ranting about "a dedicated follower of fascism," but don't

MUSIC

let the aside fool you—*Don't Try This at Home* is about the war waged between the sheets.

It's not new territory for Bragg, who's his generation's most underrated writer of love songs. (Eight of the 11 songs on his last full-length lp, 1988's *Worker's Playtime*, were heartwrenchers.) This is often obscured by his trenchant, funny agit-pop sloganeering, but Billy's at his most poignant when his heart is in more rubble than the Berlin Wall: the reflective, melancholy "Trust" examines the anguish of a woman abandoned during pregnancy; the jaunty, country-tinged "You Woke Up My Neighborhood" documents life after conjugal wartime; and in the soulful "Wish You Were Her," Billy actually affects a Motown-smooth falsetto to condemn himself for betraying his love by having a

toss with a bird who "provided bitersweet company."

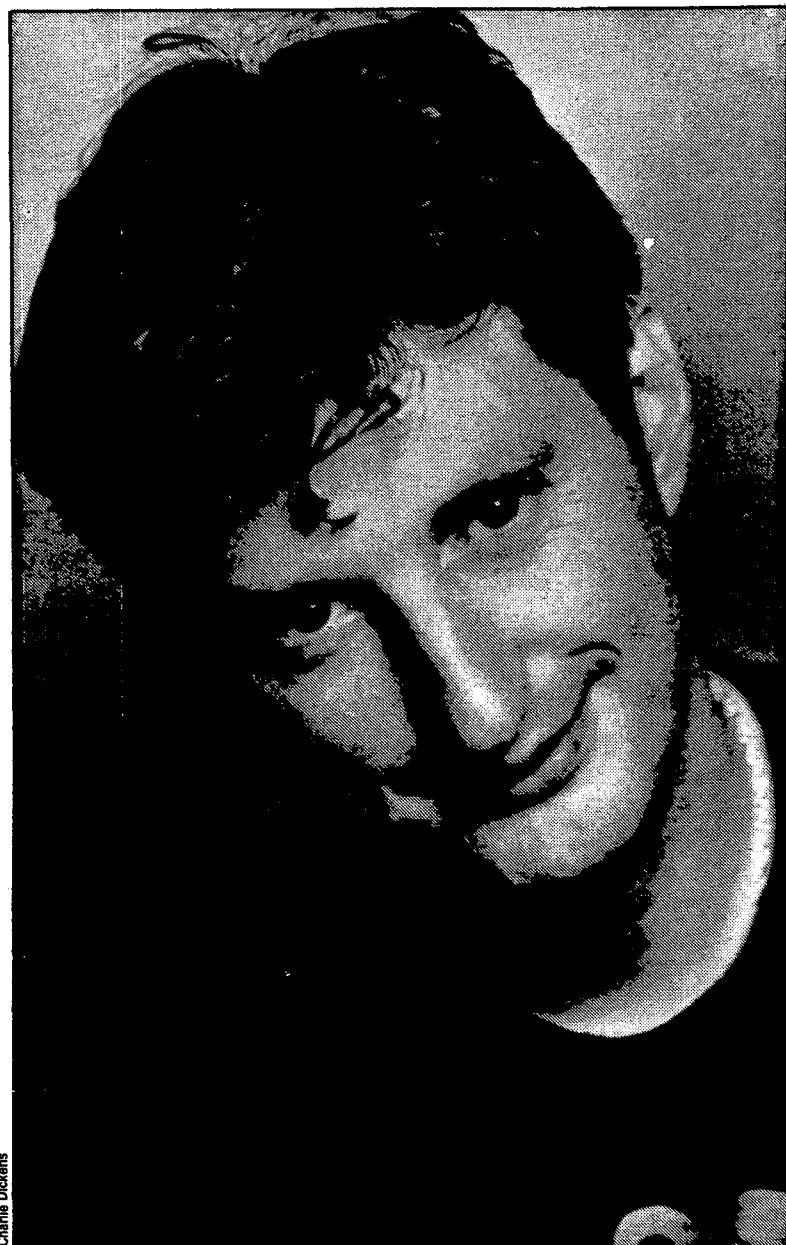
Jesus, I can see it now: the PC gestapo go *insane*. Our Bill, gettin' busy with a woman *who's not his wife*? Following the caprices of his *lust*? Pretending he's Smokey Robinson? (Oh, and he's a white male Anglo to boot!)

Well, not to worry. There's plenty here offered up for progressives, from the pro-gay rights "Sexuality" to the anti-Nazi "The Few," in which Bragg narrows the cross hairs on the skinheads who "salute the foes their fathers fought/ By raising their right arms in the air." The irony of *Don't Try This at Home* is that Bragg has

Bill Bragg, his generation's most underrated writer of love songs.

evolved so ingeniously that Jesse Helms would hum even the fellow-traveler songs for weeks before catching the lyrics. Hey...maybe our Bill hasn't forsaken the boycott for the bouquet after all. Maybe he's even smarter than I thought. ■

Mark G. Judge is a writer living in Maryland.



Billy Bragg: breaking the rules, and let the PC police be damned.

By Thea Klapwald

Big beat under the big top in City of Light night spot

ARMS FOLDED ACROSS HIS chest, Rainer Wegenroth stands surveying the expansive space in front of him filled with people dancing to loud house music. Colored spotlights flash sporadically, lighting up go-go-type dancers swaying on platforms above the floor. A mirrored disco ball spatters white dots of light across the striped circus tent that encloses the night club. Off in one corner, a bar resembling a circus

FRANCE

animal's cage holds willing captives engrossed in each other as well as their drinks. Trans-Paris-Reves is a bizarre sight to behold, and that is exactly the reason this latest addition to the Paris night-owl scene is packed every Thursday, Friday and Saturday evening from 10 p.m. until dawn.

Dressed in a bright orange shirt and black pants with a matching orange stripe, Wegenroth, organizer of this great traveling party, can be likened to a tiger pacing its cage, ready to spring at a moment's notice. Trans-Paris-Reves is his baby. With the help of several French partners, Wegenroth brought the idea to Paris from Germany, where he has been holding similar events since 1986. The club, located at 145, Quai de la Gare on the site of what will be Paris' controversial new library, opened July 18.

Dressed for excess: Eyes darting about the tent, Wegenroth's gaze finally settles on a man in a silver body suit, his face painted to match, talking to a crew member. Wegenroth winds his way through the crowd to the man. They begin discussing certain last-minute changes for the upcoming act, of which the silver-clad figure is the star. Satisfied that everything is as planned, Wegenroth moves on.

The show starts soon after the discussion ends. Stefan, the artist, can be seen high above the dance floor dangling from a rope. The crowd crane their necks to follow Stefan's deft aerial acrobatic feats. This is only one of a half-dozen acts billed for the evening. Every 15-20 minutes between 1 a.m. and 3 a.m., some spectacle takes place often accompanied by live music. The acts vary widely—some straight out of the circus, such as a balancing act, while others mix performance art and dancing with high-wire acts. Performances take place throughout the entire tent.

In addition to the regular light show there is a large video screen featuring original graphics and videos. Every week hails a new theme and different performances. Although the basic structure is set, both a flexible stage management and a desire to keep the evenings spontaneous allow for a certain amount of risk-taking. Often performers come by the day of the show and are hired to work that evening.

When the paid acts finish, the real show begins. People crowd the dance

floor, spilling off to the periphery. The music gets louder and the dancers more serious. Although Wegenroth uses the spectacles to animate the audience, he believes it is ultimately up to them. "I give ideas to them so that they'll have fun and let loose, but I expect the people to do the show," says the 40-year-old entrepreneur.

"The basic idea," he explains, "is to get away from boring, cheap entertainment. Discos are a main cultural event for a certain age group of people and they should be interesting places. There is a bias against

Stefan steps out high above the dance floor to perform deft aerial acrobatic feats in the Trans-Paris-Reves traveling night club.

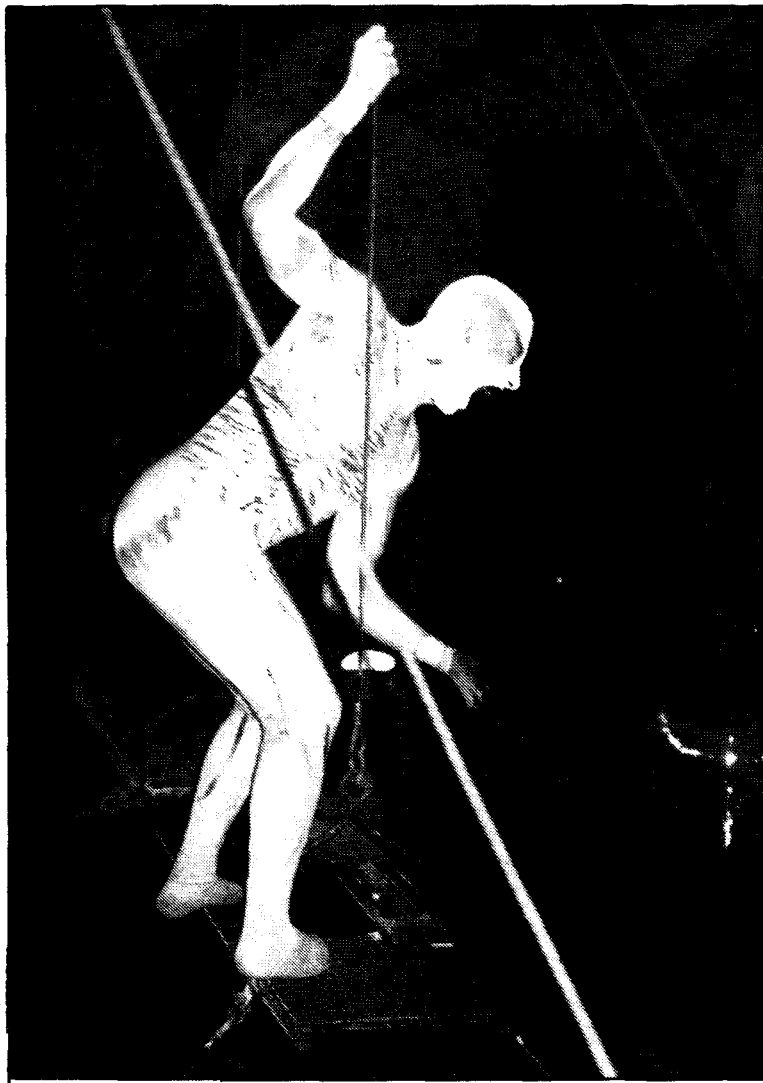
nightclubs; they are not considered worthy of being able to produce art. In Europe, art is a very serious thing. It is holy. So I always try to have some fun with it."

Power of the night: Wegenroth got the idea for a traveling dance club after spending several years working for the Ramcalli circus. "When I worked with the circus, I was responsible for a Belle Epoque-style salon for the artists and the public. The tent and salon were also used to organize galas for big companies. I found it interesting to have wild parties, to animate people, so I got the idea for a rolling party in a circus tent," he recalls.

Starting in Cologne, the traveling dance club, called *Die Macht der Nacht* (Power of the Night), made its way around Germany, hitting Berlin, Hamburg, Munich and Dusseldorf. The average length of stay in each city was three months.

Taking the show on the road to other European cities was appealing to Wegenroth, but something always seemed to get in the way. In fact, the European debut was originally planned for Athens. "We were all set to go, everything was packed and planned, and then the Gulf War started. We had to cancel."

The European debut in Paris was due to the efforts of various Parisian backers and Wegenroth. But despite the support, problems came in every shape and size. Local authorities feared security problems, technical problems and natural disasters. The tent was submitted to umpteen fire tests, and the sound equipment checked again and again for wattage differences. Finally, the day before the originally scheduled opening,



Transient Paris night club has them hanging from the rafters.

Wegenroth and company were told they couldn't open their doors as planned because they still hadn't met security standards. Canceling opening night was almost as dramatic—and definitely more traumatic—than the debut for which they had worked so hard to accomplish. Two weeks later they received the appropriate approval.

The Parisian reception to the club was more reserved than they had hoped for. "We have had to work on the relationship quite a bit. People are too cool for us here," he says. "Paris is a big city, and there is a wide variety of entertainment. We are in competition with a lot of other

things. In Germany, everything is on a much smaller scale and ways of communication are much faster. We would have 5,000 people standing outside in Berlin. Here, you have to work harder to convince people. But I think we are well known," says Wegenroth. Figures back up Wegenroth's belief. Approximately 2,000 people come to the tent per night.

Making some adjustments: The lukewarm response was not due to lack of publicity though. It boiled down to something much more basic: music. "Their taste in music is very different than the Germans," says Wegenroth. "House music was very popular in Germany, and every-

one was into it. It was like a live concert. But here we had to work on a new music concept." The reworked playlist is more diverse and a bit softer. It includes everything from tango and samba to hip-hop, rap, reggae, ragamuffin and even soul music à la James Brown. The resulting mix works extremely well. The dance floor is always crowded, even if different groups of people take the floor as the style of music changes.

In fact, it is the different types of people patronizing Trans-Paris-Reves that helps add to the club's uniqueness. "It's outstanding for Paris, such a mixture of people," says Wegenroth. "Young, old, black, white, the chic-chic and the down-to-earth, and it's all very peaceful. We've never had any trouble here. There has never been anything like this before in Paris." Some of the reasoning can be attributed to the low admission fee—about \$12.50 U.S.—that makes the club more accessible to a larger variety of people. "We provide better and cheaper entertainment than other places," says Wegenroth. "This has always been our policy in Germany. How the average person can afford the prices of the clubs in Paris, I don't know. We wanted to break up this extreme price policy here," he says.

When Trans-Paris-Reves' packed its tents and headed back to Germany last month, Wegenroth was satisfied with what he and his partners have accomplished. He continues to look into taking his troupe farther and farther abroad. The U.S. in particular appeals to him, but he doesn't know how well the migrant club would be suited to American tastes. Worried about violence, partly due to the immense media coverage on the subject, Wegenroth thinks that the standard of violence in Europe is very different from that of the U.S. He says, "I would be a bit scared to do it there. It would take a lot of effort to make the place safe. I would even be a bit skeptical to bring the tent to London because of the violence." But he says that if the right partner came along and the backing was there, he'd be there in a flash.

Thea Klapwald is a writer living in Paris.

Rough Cuts BY JARID

Madonna

The Unauthorized Autobiography

What People Are Saying...

"I can't believe I said all those horrible things about myself"
—Madonna

"Poses some interesting notions"
—Vogue

"The psychological depths are scary"
—Stephen King

"I wish I'd thought of it"
—Kitty Kelly

In the '90s, Bodenheimer says, the largest opposition to adopting a Canadian-style health plan in the U.S. will be from the private

Gregory Bergman is an 83-year-old journalist living in Berkeley. The American Society on Aging named him its 1991 senior of the year.

A black and white cartoon illustration. On the left, a man in a light-colored suit and tie is being thrown back into the air by a large, balding man on the right. The large man is wearing a dark, short-sleeved shirt and trousers, and he has a wide, toothy grin. He is shouting "BOO! YOU'RE FIRED!" with his mouth open and hands raised. The man in the suit has a shocked expression with wide eyes and an open mouth. The background is simple, with some lines suggesting a ground surface and a few small, dark shapes that could be bushes or trees. The cartoon is signed "©1991 PETER HANNAN" in the bottom left corner.

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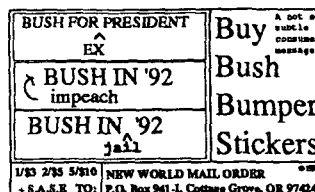
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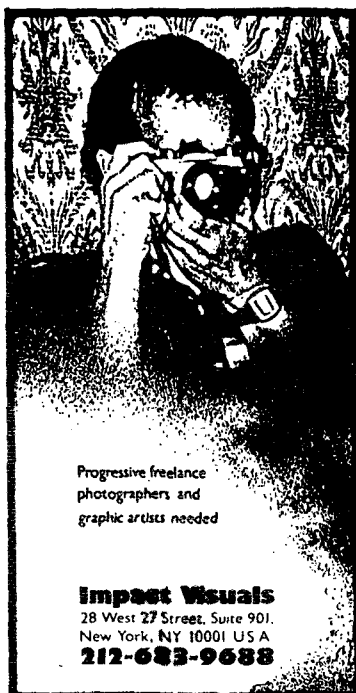
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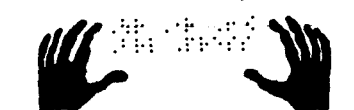
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By Travis Charbeneau

W E AMERICANS ARE PROUD OF OUR "RUGGED individualism." The right of the individual to "do his own thing," free from state control and the interference of busybodies, is often cited as the chief difference between us and "them." Rugged individualism is our sacred, mythic frontier heritage, handed down from the good old days when a man was a man, stand-in' alone against the wilderness, tamin' a savage land with just his iron will and a trusty six-shooter.

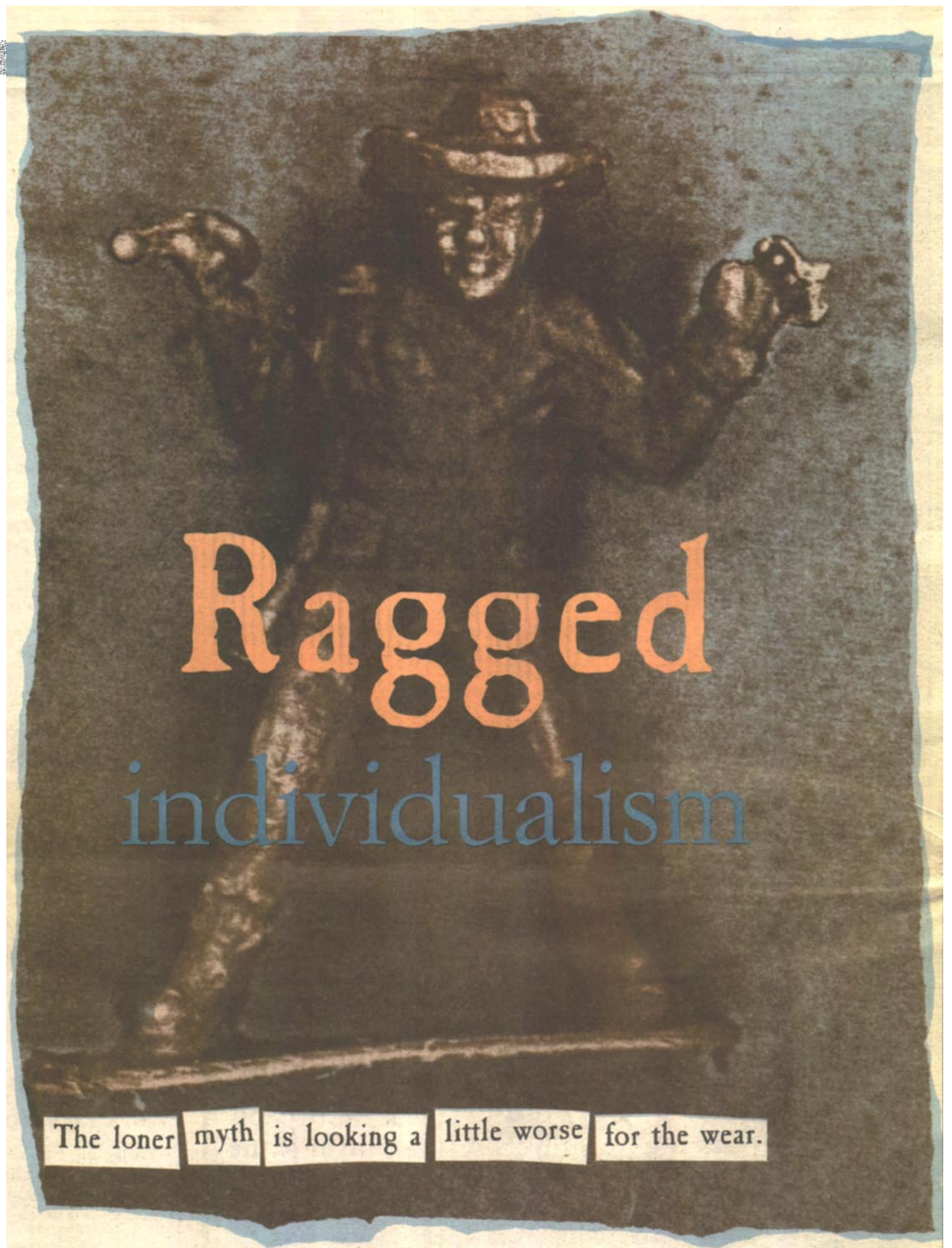
What hogwash. What a fig leaf for greed. And what a rotten omen for the future if this idiotic ideal persists.

In the hogwash department, anyone who has so much as *flown* over what American wilderness remains knows that any damn fool wandering out there with just his iron will and a pistol will soon be turned into a buzzard-burger. This is one reason Americans went West in wagon trains, little mobile dictatorships of the proletariat. If your fellow traveler's wagon got washed down the Big Muddy, you were expected to help out—and he did the same for you. And, when—and *if*—you got where you were going, neighbors came from miles around to help you do stuff like raise the barn, round up the strays and, ah, chase away and butcher the darker-skinned original owners of the property. Only if you were truly unlucky did you encounter an *authentic* Wild West loner, typically a psychopathic killer like Billy the Kid, soon to become a hero to millions of Americans.

"Community," not the lone, gunslinger motif, is what *really* "tamed" the Wild West, and a sense of national community is what we need to revitalize if we're going to tame the "Wild West" of the future: that thicket of nuclear weapons, those tangles of foreign economic competition, that desert of environmental collapse, the savage wasteland of our typically darker-skinned underclass.

But, of course, the loner fables provide an ideal and irresistible fig leaf for greed. Here, in what is reputedly the most Christian nation on Earth, "Greed is good. Greed works." Institutionalized greed just fits in so neatly with our great history of pioneering loners taking possession of a hostile land. We just can't seem to shake the appeal. Institutionalized greed even has a brand-new name. The late, much bereaved "Trickle-Down Theory" is now the "New, Improved Trickle-Down Theory," a.k.a. Bush's proposed capital gains tax cut. Cutting the capital gain tax would allow today's pioneering loners to create jobs, jobs, jobs: perhaps new sweatshops in Singapore or sewage-ridden *maquiladoras* south of the border down Mexico way.

Unfortunately, "pioneering loner" today translates into rapacious "entrepreneurs," corporations and institutions hungry to eat anything, from each other to you and me to the whole planet. Our "loner" now has not only an iron will but iron bulldozers, chain saws and oil-drilling platforms. Our "loner," now invariably in the company of a cavalry troop of lawyers and lobbyists, can gobble up whole city blocks, acquire great enterprises in "hostile takeovers," raid the banking and health care systems, pollute the countryside, elbow his way up to a prime feeding spot at the Pentagon trough and gen-



erally sacrifice the national interest—all on the altar of "rugged individualism." Yuppie yi ti yay! Git along little cowboy!

Of course, when rugged individualism gets "too rugged" for those who oppose abortion, unorthodox sexual preferences, the right to privacy, the smoking of certain weeds or the viewing of certain portions of the human anatomy, the myth conveniently explodes, the front door comes busting open and in comes the ham-fisted power of the state. Clearly, and as ever, the limits of "rugged individualism" depend on which individual you happen to be.

When it gets down to the manly art of settling an argument "loner" style, the Western archetype gets even less respect from those who blow hardest in favor of rugged individ-

ualism. Modern-day gang-bangers trying to settle the Wild West of America's drug frontier are just as iron-willed as Billy the Kid. In terms of fire-power alone, their Uzis and Kalashnikovs make Billy look like the creation of some dime novelist (which, of course, he was). But do these guys get any respect, let alone the hero treatment? No. It's police harassment for these rugged individualists.

Our interdependent American heritage, the community-oriented legacy that *truly* enabled us to settle the West, survive the Depression, beat fascism and extend civil rights to the oppressed, is exactly what's required to survive and prosper in the increasingly interdependent national and global community.

But the way it stands now, individualism

is Americanism. Yet in an era of accelerated change, living cheek-by-jowl with each other and a host of challenges that increasingly call upon us to function as a family, let's quit selectively elevating "rugged individual" to the status of automatic hero on the basis of foolish fancy and fiscal convenience. Let's face it: some of us are just plain selfish—or sick.

It's instructive to note that, even as we continue to thrill to this "loner" crap doled out from Hollywood to Washington, the first characterization invariably made of every Lee Harvey Oswald, James Earl Ray or John Hinckley is...you got it: "Yup. I guess you could say he was sort of a loner."

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